

SPECIAL WAR ISSUE

The American Review
on the
SOVIET UNION

THE RED ARMY

An Official Description

THE BATTLE ZONE

THE CIVILIAN LEARNS TO FIGHT

ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE USSR

VOROSHILOV, TIMOSHENKO, BUDYENNY

Biographies

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OSOAVIAKHIM SPELLS SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE

Defense training for men, women and children in the USSR has been a cardinal feature of Soviet life from the earliest years of its existence. This training, reaching millions, has created an enormous reserve of Soviet citizens who can at a moment's notice shoulder a gun, put on a gas mask, clear out bomb debris, extinguish fires, enter a shelter, give first aid to victims of bombs or poison gas. Millions more can jump from a parachute, ride and care for military horses, operate telephonic, radio, and telegraphic communications, throw hand-grenades, wield a bayonet, and march in military formation.

The Soviet population at large represents a high degree of civilian preparedness and the spearhead for the attack on its ignorance of things military has been a mass voluntary society with the telescoped title *OSOAVIAKHIM*,¹ meaning Society for Assistance in Defense and in Aviation-Chemical Construction. *Osoaviakhim*, the civilian rung on the military ladder, is literally a first step for the defense training of Soviet citizens. It has not only trained its younger members so that upon their entrance into the Red Army or the Red Navy they have already acquired basic military skills but it has taught the population generally the rudiments of anti-aircraft and chemical defense, popularizing military knowledge to the point where even children can use technical terms "laconically."

Particularly in the last year was civilian defense training in the Soviet Union given a sharply realistic turn. The line between sports and military training which had sometimes become only faintly perceptible in the work of *Osoaviakhim* was inked in deeply when the Central Council of *Osoaviakhim* USSR last October proposed a reconstruction of its curriculum and structure along the lines of the Red Army. A press campaign gave wide publicity to the matter and hastened the efforts to realize the new program. Particularly in the Ukraine the reconstruction was quickly undertaken. *Sovetskaia Ukraina* in devoting almost its entire front page to it on

¹ Pronounced O-so-avia-khim (Obshchestvo sodeistviia oborone i aviatsionno-khimicheskomu stroitelstvu SSSR).

October 11, 1940, related the change to the dangerous international situation—"half the people of the globe are already in it and the end of the war is not in sight"—and the condition of mobilized readiness which this demanded of the Soviet people. To achieve this, the newspaper declared editorially, *Osoaviakhim* must pass from its preoccupation with gaining a vast number of members and a program of sportslike activities to an improved curriculum which by emphasizing a "complex" (interrelation) of military knowledge will prepare its members for "war under difficult conditions." Concretely this meant that the factory worker, the farmer, the scientist and other *Osoaviakhim* members, would no longer become "narrow specialists preparing under room conditions" but would join the study groups formed in the factory, farm, and laboratory where each would learn how to shoot, camouflage himself, advance, hurdle obstacles, entrench himself, fight hand-to-hand, and throw grenades. These study groups, united into detachments containing artillerymen, machine-gunners, communication experts, and medical aides, were to move out into the woods and fields and practice their skills under varied conditions. While in previous years reserve commanders had taught the *Osoaviakhim*ites there were also some instructors who had had only *Osoaviakhim* training themselves; the new set-up provided for all instruction to be given by reserve officers. Steady progress was reported in the press in the weeks following the October decision and the reconstructed *Osoaviakhim* had time to give its members many months of field training before Germany decided to test the "mobilized readiness" of the ten million in its civilian fighting units.

AIR RAID PROTECTION

Through its Anti-Aircraft and Chemical Defense sector (PVKhO), the *Osoaviakhim*, both before and after its reconstruction, has reached far beyond its own membership and has taught millions of men, women and children methods of defense from air attack and poisonous gas. By the end of 1936 over five million housewives, farmers, students, workers had demonstrated sufficient proficiency in donning gas masks, degassifying rooms, handling the debris left by bombs, extinguishing fires created by incendiary bombs, etc., to qualify for the badge "Ready for PVKhO"

[2]

(GPVKhO). *Osoaviakhim's* work in air-raid protection was carried on not only in its educational centers but in the factories, schools and apartment houses where self-defense groups were formed and given instruction. Over a million and a half members of these groups took part in special drills held in Moscow at the end of 1939. In the hikes and drills in gas masks which *Osoaviakhim* has for many years been organizing, there have been as many as 50,000 marchers at one time. Only a month before the Germans attacked the Soviet borders, 7000 citizens of Moscow were called to practice the repulse of parachute troops in special drills over the weekend. When in the second week of the fighting, the Soviet Government ordered compulsory training of civilians for air and gas defense it could count on the active aid of the millions who had acquired this training through the voluntary society in the years before the war.

The black-out and the air-raid signal have not been unfamiliar to Soviet citizens for some years, particularly in western cities. At such times the lessons taught by *Osoaviakhim* are put into practice and the occasion is used for further instructional work. In the summer of 1935, for instance, when the air raid signal sounded midday in Leningrad and the streets were quickly cleared to the tune of "*bystree, bystree, tovarishchi*,"² as civilians with PVKhO badges hurried everyone into the nearest air-raid shelters, an *Osoaviakhimite* addressed the serious-faced group in the basement of St. Isaac's Cathedral, explaining the principles of air-raid protection, answering the "what would happen if . . ." questions, and impressing upon all the defense significance of the drill. During the black-outs of 1939 and 1940 *Osoaviakhimites* explained the importance of immediately heeding the signal to cover windows. In an air-raid shelter a healthy citizen may suddenly find himself seized by a number of eager housewives who bandage him and apply first aid for the edification of the others in the shelter. They are demonstrating the knowledge they have acquired at the Red Cross Circles set up in their apartment houses through *Osoaviakhim* activity. Publicity accorded the Red Army man who lived for three months in a gas mask brought enthusiastic gas-maskers in his wake. Anti-air-raid training has been

² Quicker, quicker, comrades.

so widespread that 80 per cent of those called up for Red Army service from Moscow and Leningrad in 1939 already wore the GPVKhO badge.

The basic units of *Osoaviakhim*, the civil defense organizations found in almost every factory, collective and state farm, institution or transport center, have had a wide variety of equipment—airplanes, shooting ranges, parachute towers, skis, guns, etc.—with which to train their members. They were enabled to make new purchases in the spring of this year when they were permitted, by a decision of the Central Council of *Osoaviakhim*, to retain 30 per cent of membership dues and 100 per cent of initiation fees. *Osoaviakhim* has not depended, however, on membership dues alone, which are kept very low, but has enriched its coffers by the enormous fund-raising lottery it has run annually. In 1940, when the 14th All-Union *Osoaviakhim* lottery was held, the prizes offered exceeded twenty-five million rubles. This has enabled *Osoaviakhim* to become truly a mass organization in which there was no financial bar to the acquisition of the skills so essential to defense.

PARACHUTE JUMPING

Literally millions of men, women and children, with no interruption to their daily work or schooling, have taken advantage of the training offered through *Osoaviakhim*. “The history of parachute jumping as a mass sport,” states Major V. Moshkovsky, “begins with its inclusion in the activities of *Osoaviakhim* and the formation of the first special institution, training hundreds of parachute instructors.” The parachute tower to be found in city parks, villages, and *Osoaviakhim* centers has been for many young people the springboard for a leap into the field of aeronautics. The first bumpy realistic descent from a parachute tower (not to be compared with the park bench comforts of the New York World’s Fair version) figures in the reminiscences of many of the most notable aviators and aviatrixes in the Soviet Union who followed through with training in *Osoaviakhim* air clubs. Airplane designing has also gained, for parachuting has stimulated experimentation with airplane models, and in the model stations run by the *Osoaviakhim* over a million young people in 1937 were studying and tinkering. The young

Soviet citizen has more technical familiarity with airplanes than with automobiles. In 1935, just five years after the first parachute clubs were organized, more than 800,000 jumps had been made from parachute towers; this figure doubled the next year, and by 1940 at least five million jumps were recorded. Some 11,000 jumps were taken from airplanes in 1935, 30,000 in 1936, and by 1940 almost a million jumps had been taken by civilians trained in *Osoaviakhim* air clubs. Posters and pamphlets put out by *Osoaviakhim* have made the whole country air-minded. The collective farmer would no more than the city dweller stare open-mouthed at the myriads of white objects that dot the summer skies; he knows they are parachutes and that maybe the one on the left is bringing down his son or his daughter or his wife and he may go up there himself tomorrow if he finishes rifle practice early.

Gliding, somewhat older as a sport in the USSR than parachute-jumping, has also received the attention of *Osoaviakhim*. From 1927 to 1930 the number of Soviet glider pilots rose to 40,000 and by 1937 Soviet distance gliding took first place in the world. The Chkalov Central Air Club of *Osoaviakhim* is a member of F.A.I. (International Aviation Federation) and registers all the aviation records of the USSR.

MARKSMANSHIP

Even before the October, 1940, reconstruction and emphasis on the interconnection of military subjects, *Osoaviakhim* had been fully conscious that the jump from the parachute has little defense significance unless the parachutist has also been taught shooting, telegraphy, destructive work, etc. Not only the parachutist was given instruction of this sort, however. The shooting ranges of *Osoaviakhim* found millions of Soviet men, women and children at practice, some using firearms of low caliber and some having advanced to the high-caliber weapons. By 1936 over a million had won badges as "Voroshilov Sharpshooters" signifying completion of a shooting-circle course, ability to perform military rifle exercises and to pass shooting tests with low-caliber and army guns, competence in cleaning and caring for weapons, and mastery of the fundamentals of ballistics. The next year the number of "Voroshilov Sharpshooters"

[5]

almost doubled, while the number of juvenile marksmen rose to 100,000. The highest categories, snipers and masters of rifle sport, included 3000 to 5000 men and women in each. In 1938 some 700,000 additional marksmen were trained. *Osoaviakhim* shooting clubs have gained international fame. When in 1939 the Soviet teams won eighteen out of the first twenty-one places in a shooting contest carried on by correspondence with the British Association of Miniature Rifle Clubs, the first five places were held by the team of the Central Sports Shooting Club of the Central Council of *Osoaviakhim* which hit 1991 out of 2000 marks. Similarly, the Moscow school children's team in competing with the team of school children of Valley Stream, New York, won with 1115 points out of 1200. When the Moscow and Leningrad youth were called up for Red Army training, it was found that over 60 per cent of them were "Voroshilov Sharpshooters," some 2000 in each contingent were machine-gunners, and over 600 in each held the title of sniper. At the *Osoaviakhim* shooting ranges and study circles the millions of holders of GTO (Ready for Labor and Defense) badges awarded by the All-Union Committee for Physical Culture and Sport (VKDFS) receive the military training which is one of the prerequisites. Especially since 1939 has the military aspect in the GTO requirements loomed large. Snegov, Chairman of VKDFS, writing in December, 1939, on the new requirements for GTO, states, "If according to the old training requirements there were few military exercises . . . now there will be included military exercises for all the levels (bayonet warfare, overcoming of obstacles, grenade-hurling, mountain-climbing, etc.)." Since marksmanship has always been part of the GTO requirements, the number of those wearing the star-shaped badge is significant indication of the scope of *Osoaviakhim's* work in developing marksmanship among the citizenry. By January 1, 1939, there were almost six million holders of the adult standards badge ("first degree") with some 71,000 holding the advanced standards ("second degree") award. Children, aged 13 to 16, who had won the special badge for passing the juvenile tests BGTO (Be Ready for Labor and Defense) numbered over a million by that date and by October, 1940, there was half a million increase. *Osoaviakhim* posters and placards have familiarized even those who never joined

the shooting courses with certain basic knowledge about fire-arms: how they are constructed, how they should be cleaned, etc.

SKI TRAINING

Another defense skill of great importance in a country covered with snow a good part of the year is that of skiing. The Soviet population has been ski-conscious for many years; as a sport it has been widely encouraged by the low prices set on skiing equipment, the extensive construction of ski runs, and the publicity accorded ski events. *Osoaviakhim* has built upon the general ski enthusiasm and in its study circles has developed the military aspect. Since skiing is also a GTO badge requirement, the figures cited for GTO are one indication of the vast numbers skilled in skiing. In February of this year *Osoaviakhim* held military-skiing competitions in honor of the 23rd Anniversary of the Red Army. Winter camps were set up and on Free Days (Sundays for the majority) the members came to study under conditions approximating wartime situations, with frost, thaw, poor visibility, etc., constituting instructive complications. The skiers used guns, threw hand-grenades, rendered first aid to the wounded and the poison gas victims, etc. In his description of the event, Major-General Kobelev* told how the *Osoaviakhim* members participating in the competition were divided into four categories depending on their military training. Into the first fell the snipers, wearing white camouflage costumes with full military equipment. Their ten-kilometre ski-cross included shooting with army guns. The second category, made up of "Voroshilov Sharpshooters" and "Voroshilov Riders" of the second degree, as well as parachutists, marched in groups of ten, using small-caliber rifles. The third, consisting of first degree badge holders and glider pilots, as well as the fourth, women first degree badge holders, skied for a distance of five kilometers.

HORSEBACK RIDING

By July of 1937, 10,000 men and women had passed the test for and acquired the title and badge of "Voroshilov Riders," and in 1938

* Chairman of the Central Council of *Osoaviakhim* USSR. The Central Council is elected at an All-Union Congress, consisting of representatives from the republic, regional and district congresses of *Osoaviakhim* members.

interest in horsemanship for defense purposes had risen to the point where *Osoaviakhim* published a book on "Cavalry Preparation" in which the fundamentals of cavalry formations, the care of army horses, etc., were explained not only for the collective farmers but for the workers, students, and office employees who flocked to its riding clubs.

TRAINING OF THE YOUTH

In 1941 *Osoaviakhim* placed greater emphasis than ever before on pre-draft training. The Chairman of its Central Council Major-General Kobelev stated in an interview with a *Pravda* reporter in January that a special program of military study had been worked out for those who would be called for training in the Red Army in 1941. In study groups they were to be put through a course planned to give them military fundamentals and to enable them to pass the norms for the badges GTO, GPVKhO, and GSO (Ready for Sanitation Defense). Skiing, digging trenches for prone shooting, overcoming a series of obstacles, etc., were made part of *Osoaviakhim's* training program for this category of member.

While the work done by *Osoaviakhim* with those in their teens and older is for the time being of greater moment, it must not be forgotten that the training given the Young Pioneers (Communist youth organization) numbering over seven million members between the ages of ten and sixteen will, in the event of a long war, become of no little significance. Some mention has already been made of the PVKhO training of children and the aviation model stations where in 1937 over a million schoolchildren were spending after-school hours, as well as the parachute tower jumps where they were getting their air legs. *Osoaviakhim* has cooperated in the nationwide military games played by schoolchildren in the holiday recesses when the military training received during the school year was tested in tactical maneuvers. Barely six months before the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany, Soviet Pioneers were being summoned by their newspaper *Pionerskaia Pravda* to prepare for big war games during the winter recess. Only those with good schoolwork and deportment could participate, a factor which, *Pravda* commented, resulted in some very well-behaved, diligent children as the date of

the event grew close. *Osoaviakhim* helped to equip special rooms in the schools where the children could fashion fire-arms and keep their own skis and clothing in good order, war being hard on buttons. With the rifles, machine guns and cannons they had built themselves, the children gathered in fields and forests throughout the country where, under their playmate-commanders, they sought the victory that lay in "showing the most military shrewdness and courage." Emphasis was placed on counter-attack, and the strategies employed came straight from the Red Army with a Major-General, a Colonel, two Majors and a Captain constituting the Chief of Staff. Army General Tiulenev sent a message telling the Pioneers he was glad to hear of the games and reminding them that "from the earliest years it is necessary to prepare for the sacred duty of battle for the country of the Soviets."

For children and adults alike, *Osoaviakhim* has supplemented its military courses with political instruction. Building upon the Soviet films which commemorate the heroism of the early years and the museums where paintings, photographs, and objects in glass cases recall the brutality of the Intervention and the grain seizures, hangings and floggings by Germans in the Ukraine, the civil defense organization has sought to develop in its own members and among the population generally a strong sense of "Soviet Patriotism" and an understanding of the significance of Article 132 of the Constitution: "To defend his country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR." By stressing present blessings, *Osoaviakhim* creates a strong sense of patriotism; the women are reminded of their educational and job opportunities, the youth of their economic security, freedom from racial discrimination, etc. In its propaganda work *Osoaviakhim* has supplemented the efforts of other Soviet mass voluntary organizations, the trade unions, the sports clubs, the cultural societies; and at the same time that it has provided military training it has laid a political basis for that training.

OSOAVIAKHIM THROUGH THE YEARS

Almost as old as the Soviet Union, the Society for Assistance in Defense and in Aviation-Chemical Construction has had many years in which to build up civilian reserves. While it has been in exist-

ence under that name since January 23, 1927, actually its origins can be traced back to 1920 when the VNO (Military-Scientific Society) was formed "to deepen the military knowledge" of Red Army men and commanders. In 1926, with foreign intervention ended and the Red Army "at ease," the VNO became the OSO (Society for Assistance to Defense) which undertook to spread and popularize knowledge not only amongst its members within the Red Army but amongst the civilian population as well. Alongside of OSO there worked *Aviakhim* created in 1925 by a merger of two societies, *Dobrokhim* (Society of Friends of Chemical Defense) and ODVF (Society of Friends of the Air Force). *Aviakhim* took upon itself the raising of funds and the promotion of interest in aviation construction and chemical development. In 1927, upon Voroshilov's suggestion, the OSO (née VNO) and *Aviakhim* (*Dobrokhim* plus ODVF) were combined and to this day function as a single mass organization, *Osoaviakhim*. The importance of this Society has long been recognized by the Soviet leaders. In a speech in 1938 Stalin mentioned *Osoaviakhim* along with the government arms of defense. "It is necessary," he declared, "in every way to strengthen our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Force, *Osoaviakhim*. It is necessary for our people to hold themselves in a condition of mobilized readiness in the face of danger of military attack, in order that no 'incident' whatever and no trick of our enemies can take us unawares. . . ." The brief account given here has indicated the measures that were taken by the Society in the succeeding years to carry out this program.

By teaching the civilian population that an attack is coming, what they stand to lose by it, and how they can prepare to withstand it, *Osoaviakhim* has sown seeds which in the present struggle can ripen into inexhaustible reserves of trained personnel quickly qualified for front line duty, a citizenry familiar with its duties under air attack, and a farm and urban population that can snipe at invaders, toss hand-grenades, destroy communications, and render first aid to the injured. With the progress of the invaders hampered and panic-stricken routs obviated, it would seem likely that *Osoaviakhim's* years of efforts to strengthen potential civilian resistance will be a weighty factor in the balance of a long drawn out war.

ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE USSR

On June 22 the power of the German military machine was thrown against the borders of the USSR. Back of that military machine stands the might of German industry, of the industries of conquered lands, in short, the economic potential of the Hitler empire. Among the questions that were evoked by the outbreak of hostilities between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union is the problem of how well the industrial structure of the USSR can cope with a modern war. What do we know about the economic potential of the Soviet Union? To what extent is Germany facing a different Russia now than it did some twenty-seven years ago?

A few decades ago Russia was one of the most backward countries of Europe. Her natural resources were vast, but undeveloped. As early as 1901 Henry Cabot Lodge visited Russia to find out whether Russia's natural resources could be developed, and if so, how soon they would reach a point of rivalry with the United States. Mr. Lodge's conclusions on Russia were rather pessimistic. He said that industrial development "certainly will never come to pass until individualism of effort is encouraged and personal energy rewarded. It is also true that if the Russian people should be converted into an industrial and economic organization, it would be necessary to gather them into towns and cities, to concentrate their labor and to educate them. . . . When that is done, the docile peasant, with his depressed look, his quiet ways, and his simple faith in God and Tsar, will have disappeared. His place will be taken by the active and energetic workingman, and the present system of autocracy will come to a speedy end."¹

Tsarist Russia was not only backward, but it was getting relatively more backward as time progressed. Reporting on the Third Five-Year Plan on March 14, 1939, V. Molotov compared as follows the pig-iron production in 1900 and 1913: "The per capita production of pig iron in Tsarist Russia was one-eighth of the output in the USA in 1900, while in 1913 it had receded to only one-eleventh

¹ Lodge, Henry Cabot. "Some Impressions of Russia," *Scribner's Magazine*, New York, 1902, XXXI, p. 578-9. Cited by Anna M. Babey, *Americans in Russia 1776-1917*, The Comet Press, New York, 1938, p. 19, 73f. 116f.

of that country's output. In comparison with Germany, the output of pig iron in Russia was approximately one-sixth in 1900, while in 1913 it had receded to one-eighth. In comparison with France it was one-third in 1900, while in 1913 it had receded to one-fourth."²

The conditions thus described have in the last two decades undergone a most profound change. Since the end of the so-called reconstruction period in the middle twenties a very rapid industrial revival began in the Soviet Union. As a result of three Five-Year Plans, the backward empire of the Tsars was transformed into a modern industrial country, and the Red Army has behind it an economy vastly different in kind from that on which the Tsar's troops depended. The best way of judging the industrial progress of the Soviet Union is to ascertain the approximate rate of expansion, for in this lies the key to the understanding of its economic potential.

The very rapid expansion of Soviet industrial production could be documented by a great many examples, as the elaborate tabulation in the last issue of the *American Review on the Soviet Union* indicates.³ Here a few examples will be used to illustrate the general point that the *rate of growth* in the USSR has of recent years been exceptionally high, particularly during the decade marked by depression in most other countries.

GROWTH OF NATIONAL INCOME

Figures for the national income of the Soviet Union are obtainable for several years back and are all expressed in rubles of 1926-27 prices. The national income for 1913, the last pre-war year of Tsarist Russia, was 21.0 billion rubles. By 1917 national income declined to 16.0 billions, and in 1921 it was down to 8.0 billion rubles. Not until 1926 did the national income exceed the 1913 figure, when it reached 21.7 billion rubles. Since that year the national income has been rising at a constantly increasing pace. In

² Molotov, V., "The Third Five-Year Plan for the National-Economic Development of the USSR," *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*, Reports and Speeches at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), March 10-21, 1939, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1939, p. 116.

³ "Statistics on the Soviet Union," *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, June, 1941, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 48-51.

rubles of 1926-27 prices, the figures were: 35.0 billion rubles in 1930, 55.8 billion in 1934, and 96.3 billion in 1937. The national income in 1940 was 125.5 billion rubles, or almost exactly six times as great as the comparable figure for 1913.⁴

Since methods of computing the national income vary from country to country, and since it appears impossible adequately to convert rubles into dollars, it is only possible here to compare the rate of change in the national income as between the Soviet Union and the United States. The national income of the United States was over 80 billion dollars in 1929. In no year since then has this figure been exceeded, although it is expected that in 1941 the national income will strike a new high.⁵ Thus the period of economic depression in which the American national income ceased growing coincided with the years in which the Soviet Union more than trebled its national income.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Turning to total industrial production, we observe an even more remarkable rate of growth. In fact the very rapid increase in the national income of the Soviet Union must be attributed primarily to the unusual expansion in industrial production. In 1900 the value of industrial production was 4,650 million rubles. (These are again rubles of the 1926-27 prices.) By 1913, the last pre-war year of Tsarist Russia, the value of industrial production grew to 10,251 million rubles, increasing approximately two and one half times. The devastation of World War I, the Civil War, the blockade, and the famine brought the value of industrial production down to

⁴ For national income of the USSR in billions of rubles of 1926-27 prices for 1913 and 1937, see: *SSSR i Kapitalisticheskie Strany* (USSR and Capitalist Countries), Gosplanizdat, Moscow, 1939, p. 3. For 1917, 1921, 1926 and 1930 see: *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitelstvo SSSR* (Socialist Construction of the USSR), TsUNKhU Gosplana SSSR, Moscow, 1934, p. 20. For 1934 see: *Trud v SSSR* (Labor in the USSR), edited by A. S. Popov, TsUNKhU Gosplana SSSR, Moscow, 1936, p. 3. For 1940 see: Voznesensky, N., *The Growing Prosperity of the Soviet Union*, Report delivered at the 18th All-Union Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 18, 1941. Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1941, p. 9.

⁵ For national income of the United States for 1919-1940, see: Gibbert, Milton and Yntema, Dwight B. "National Income Exceeds 76 Billion Dollars in 1940," *Survey of Current Business*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C., June, 1941, Vol. 21, No. 6, p. 11-18. It is estimated that in June 1941 the national income was equal to an annual rate of approximately 85 billion. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

1,410 million rubles in 1920, or to 13.9 per cent of the 1913 level. Not until 1926 did the value of industrial production exceed—and then by less than one billion rubles—the 1913 figure.⁶ After the pre-war level was again reached, an unusually rapid advance took place from year to year. In presenting value figures for industrial output, Stalin reported in March, 1939, that industrial production for the year 1938 equaled 100.4 billion rubles, as contrasted with 11.0 billion rubles in 1913.⁷ Thus while the industrial advance from 1900 to 1913 in Tsarist Russia was approximately two and a half times, in the Soviet Union from 1930 to 1938 alone the growth in the value of all industrial production was over four times. From these figures, as well as many others, it is quite clear that the rate of growth in the Soviet Union is much higher than in the years of the most rapid expansion under the Tsarist empire and can scarcely be regarded as a mere continuation of progress that was interrupted by the Revolution.⁸ In industrial expansion, the Soviet Union seems definitely to have established a new tempo of its own.

Here it may be appropriate again, as in the case of the growth of the national income, to resort to some comparison with the United State, a country with considerably greater productive capacity than the Soviet Union. During the depression decade of the 1930's industrial production in the United States never exceeded the high established in 1929. If we take the old index, before the figures were reworked on a new base in the second half of 1940, we find that in 1937 industrial production in the United States just missed reaching the previous high. (The new, reworked Federal Reserve index shows 1937 as higher than 1929.) Now, on the basis of the new

⁶ For value of industrial production of the USSR for 1900, 1913, 1920 and 1926, see: *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo SSSR* (Socialist Construction of the USSR). TsUNKhU Gosplana SSSR, Moscow, 1936, p. 2. This series is given in rubles of 1926-27 prices. It is based on the 1913 coverage of industries and does not extend beyond 1934.

⁷ A new series on the value of industrial production of "all industries" covers a wider range of industries and is also expressed in rubles of 1926-27 prices. See the same source as above and also Joseph Stalin's Report delivered March 10, 1939. *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*, *op. cit.*, p. 20-21. The "all industries" series contains a recomputed 1913 figure.

⁸ Some are still apt to dispute this contention, asserting that: "If there had been no war and no subsequent revolutions, and Russia's industrial progress had continued at the tempo of the years 1900-13, the country would have been in the year 1939 industrially very near the point actually reached by the Soviet Union, if not quite at that point." Gordon, Manya, *Workers Before and After Lenin*, E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., New York, 1941, p. 347.

index, predictions are being made that 1941 industrial production may exceed 1929 by one-third.⁹

In the field of industrial production, as was the case with the national income, it was in the depression decade of the thirties that the Soviet Union was expanding its industrial production at an unprecedented rate, while the more advanced industrial countries such as the United States were experiencing difficulties in reaching the old peak. One must of course bear in mind that in total production the United States is very far ahead of the Soviet Union. What the Soviet Union does demonstrate is a rate of production growth that was in recent years far greater than that of any other industrial country.

INDUSTRY OUTSTRIPS AGRICULTURE

The swift industrial expansion has transformed the Soviet Union from a country that only a few years ago was primarily agricultural to one that is now predominantly industrial. As late as 1928 industrial production only accounted for slightly more than one-half of the total production. In 1937, however, industrial output provided 77.4 per cent of total production.¹⁰ We are therefore now dealing with an industrial country, which has already become a serious contestant for the second place among the great industrial powers of the world. In 1913 the industrial production of Tsarist Russia equaled 2.6 per cent of the industrial production of the world. In 1937 the output of Soviet industry reached 13.7 per cent of world industrial production. While in the earlier year, 1913, Russian industrial production was 6.9 per cent of American industrial production, in 1937 it was equal to 32.7 per cent of American production in the same year.¹¹

LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

In quantity of production the USSR had "overtaken and surpassed" England and Germany in 1937 figures and was, prior to the

⁹ For index of industrial production, monthly average, 1923-25=100 (old series), see: *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1939, p. 774. Revised series, 1935-39 average=100, see: *Ibid.*, 1940, p. 804. For discussion of the revision, see *Federal Reserve Bulletin* for August, 1940. The figure for March, 1941, was 143, see: *Survey of Current Business*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁰ *SSSR i Kapitalisticheskie Strany*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8, also p. XV of introduction.

outbreak of World War II, behind only as compared to the United States. But quantity alone is not sufficient, if the quality is deficient. A great deal of argument has been carried on around this particular point, namely, how efficient is this Soviet industry that has grown so rapidly? The best answer can probably be provided by comparative figures on the productivity of labor. Soviet statisticians have computed comparative tables on labor productivity, which are expressed in abstract ruble units, apparently specifically devised for this kind of comparison. According to this tabulation, one industrial worker produced in the course of one year the following values in 1928: United States—28,160; Germany—10,225; England—8,239; USSR—4,557. In 1937 one industrial worker produced per year: United States—28,107; Germany—11,726; England—11,045; USSR—11,386. Thus, the productivity of one industrial worker per year in the Soviet Union more than doubled from 1928 to 1937. While in 1937 the annual productivity of one worker in the USSR was still considerably less than half that of one worker in the United States, it was a bare fraction below the figure for Germany and slightly above that for England.¹²

A great deal of discussion has also been provoked by the percentage of waste in the final product turned out by Soviet industry. No comparative figures directly bearing on waste in production can be obtained for the leading industrial countries. That is why, in this instance, an attempt has been made to throw some light on the subject by presenting productivity of labor figures, which are available. In the spring of 1939, when Stalin and Molotov reported to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the industrial progress and on future plans, they both stated that the USSR had set itself the task of exceeding the other industrial countries not only in the absolute quantity of production, but also in per capita production.¹³ Merely to exceed England or Germany in the quantity of some particular product would still leave the USSR, with its present population of nearly 200,000,000, far behind in terms of per capita production. Two years ago Soviet leaders

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹³ See reports by J. Stalin and V. Molotov at the 18th Congress of the Party, *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*, *op. cit.*, p. 21f, 112f.

pointed this out and formulated their objective in terms of bringing per capita production up to the level of other leading industrial powers in the course of the next ten to fifteen years. In this connection the problem of efficiency and of the elimination of waste is of paramount importance. The special conference of the Communist Party leadership assembled in Moscow in February 1941 devoted most of its deliberations to exactly this problem.¹⁴ It is thus fairly obvious that the problem of increasing efficiency and eliminating waste was very much to the fore in the Soviet Union even before the outbreak of World War II.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE

In discussing the rapidity of Soviet industrial progress one thing must be definitely borne in mind. In the last few years a constantly increasing share of the budget has been diverted to military expenditures. In 1937 out of a budget of nearly 94 billion rubles over 17 billion went for defense; in 1940 out of a budget of 173 billion rubles 56 billion went for defense; and the plan for 1941 envisaged a defense expenditure of nearly 71 billion out of a total budget of 216 billion.¹⁵ This enormous growth of military expenditures, which recent events have proven entirely warranted, has undoubtedly interfered with the earlier tempo of production of consumers' goods. The diversion of so much activity into military channels has also had a real effect on the availability of statistical information as to general progress in the USSR. Whole sectors of statistical data that previously were published regularly have disappeared from Soviet publications with the growth of the danger of invasion. In this respect the Soviet Union has simply followed the pattern set by most other European countries: not to publish data that may be of use to the enemy.

PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE

Tsarist Russia used to be the granary of Europe while itself experiencing periodic famines. Since the first Five-Year Plan and the

¹⁴ "Soviet Economy: 1941. A Summary of Recent Reports," *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, June, 1941, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 33-47.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, "Statistics on the Soviet Union," p. 48.

collectivization of agriculture, the Soviet Union has had a mode of agricultural production different from any other. Although expansion in agriculture is necessarily a much slower process than in industry, the area of arable land in the USSR was 28.8 per cent greater in 1937 than in 1913. The increase in the harvest collected in that year, as compared to 1913, is expressed in the following percentages: wheat 114.5, rye 46.5, oats, 54.4, corn 175.9, cotton 241.6 and sugar beets 100.1.¹⁶ Notable progress has been achieved particularly in industrial crops, such as cotton. The cultivation of some of these was practically unknown in Tsarist days. So far as concerns grain, the center of production has been shifting to the southeastern and eastern parts of the country, a very important factor in view of the possibilities of invasion from the west. Under mediocre weather conditions the Soviet Union now produces more than the bumper crops in the pre-revolutionary days. Roughly, the old maximum crops have become the minimum above which agricultural production can be held even under unfavorable circumstances.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY

Another and quite unique feature of the Soviet economy is the planned distribution of economic facilities throughout the country. In Tsarist Russia the industry that existed was concentrated in a few areas, a large portion of it right on the border of the old Russian areas of Poland. Only 20 per cent of all industry was located in the Ukraine, the Urals were responsible for only 4.7 per cent of total industrial production, Siberia for 2.4 per cent and Turkestan for 1.8 per cent.¹⁷ It has already been indicated that the grain-production center of the Soviet Union has been moving east. The same applies to industry. Again this is not a new development. From the very first, Soviet leadership, starting with Lenin, who wrote on the subject as early as April, 1918, stressed the point that each area should contain within itself a variety of types of production. At the 17th Party Congress in 1934 Stalin reported on the construction of

¹⁶ SSSR i Kapitalisticheskie Strany, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

¹⁷ *Razvitie Sovetskoi Ekonomiki* (Development of the Soviet Economy), Edited by A. A. Arutinian and B. L. Markus, Gosudarstvennoe Sotsialno-Politicheskoe Izdatel'stvo, Moscow, 1940, p. 578.

new centers of industrial concentration that had been undertaken in a number of outlying regions under the first Five-Year Plan.¹⁸ The geographical distribution of industrial production, as expressed in rubles of 1926-27 prices, has changed as follows from 1913 to 1937: for the RSFSR from 7.9 to 69.2 billion rubles; for the Ukrainian SSR from 2.2 to 17.4 billion; for the White Russian SSR from 116 million to 1.9 billion rubles; for the Azerbaidzhan SSR from 402 million to 2.4 billion; for the Uzbek SSR from 270 million to 1.7 billion; for the Kazak SSR from 67 million to just short of one billion rubles.¹⁹ New coal and iron ore mining regions have been opened up in the Urals and Eastern Siberia; south of the Urals is developing "the second Baku," a new oil extracting center; and the Far East is building industries and mining along most diversified lines.

The nationality policy of the Soviet Union is particularly suited to that type of development. The Soviet Government has devoted a great deal of money and effort to raising the cultural level of previously backward and suppressed minorities, and it has been recognized that cultural rejuvenation must go hand in hand with economic advance. As a result, economic development of the outlying areas has been more rapid than the advance in the USSR taken as a whole. If total production in the USSR increased 10.9 times from 1913 to 1940, in the region of the Urals, in Siberia, and in the Far East the increase was 14.5 times, in the Armenian SSR 22.3 times, in the Georgian SSR 26.4 times, and so on.²⁰ The growth of population in all these areas was also much more rapid between the censuses of 1926 and 1939 than in the older, more populated areas,²¹ as the establishment of industry in previously undeveloped regions has attracted numerous people from central Russia. Stalin indicated as far back as 1934 that the old division into industrial and agri-

¹⁸ Joseph Stalin, *Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, p. 31. In April, 1918, Lenin published an article "Sketches of a plan of scientific and technical works," *Lenin's Works* (in Russian), Vol. XXII, p. 434. Cited by A. Korobov. "Sotsialisticheskoe Razmeshchenie Proizvoditelnykh Sil v SSSR" (Socialist Distribution of Productive Forces in the USSR), *Planovoe Khoziaistvo*, 1941, No. 2, p. 91.

¹⁹ *Razvitie Sovetskoi Ekonomiki*, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

²⁰ Korobov, A., *Planovoe Khoziaistvo*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

cultural areas had become obsolete in the Soviet Union.²² According to plans which the Soviets laid down at the very beginning, new industries are developed close to the sources of raw materials and constant effort is sustained to make each economic area as versatile in its type of production as the natural resources permit. In the last few years it has been the policy to create for each new center of production its so-called "double." In other words, all of one type of production was not allowed to concentrate in one spot; its "double" or a similar center was being built at some other end of the vast expanse of the Soviet republics. Thus, the industrial center of gravity of the Soviet Union has been shifting to the east; each region has been fostered to develop economic self-support to a degree commensurate with the natural resources available, particularly in regard to food and fuel; and duplicate facilities at various ends of the Soviet Union have been established. Such a distribution of industrial resources puts the Soviet Union in an advantageous position as compared with other countries of Europe from the point of view of resisting invasion from any of its borders.

The Soviet Union is now also self-sufficient to a greater degree than any other country in Europe. In 1937 it had to import tea, wool, aluminum, copper, lead, and rubber, but could rely on its own production to 100 per cent for wheat, cotton, sugar, coal, oil, iron ore, superphosphates, manganese ore, agricultural machinery, lumber and lumber products and paper. This situation is in marked contrast both to its degree of self-sufficiency in 1913 and in the early thirties.²³ Through extensive and intensive exploration, considerable success has been registered in filling in the blanks on the list of essential raw materials.²⁴

From this brief survey, the following conclusions seem evident regarding the economic potential of the Soviet Union. The country has been drawn into a major war in the midst of a period of tremendous industrial expansion. The rate at which this expansion was proceeding was not only an accelerating one, but also perhaps

²² Stalin, Joseph, *Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the Party*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²³ *SSSR i Kapitalisticheskie Strany*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁴ For a summary survey of natural resources, see the pamphlet, *Mineral Resources of the USSR*, by I. M. Gubkin (Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1939.

one of the highest ever achieved in a period of rapid industrialization. Soviet industrial development happened to coincide in time with a period of rather severe economic stagnation in the rest of the world. The rapid increase in production figures was accompanied not only by a sharp rise in the defense budget, but also by a continued increase in amounts devoted to education, health, and other cultural purposes,²⁵ and the standard of living for the last few years was rising rapidly. In these last two respects the nature of Soviet expansion differs from the rise in production in Germany, where during the last several years increased productive activity, largely for military purposes, was carried out at the expense of the standard of living and the cultural advance of the people.²⁶ Although progress in agriculture has been much less rapid than in industry, the new organization of agricultural production, the wide use of tractors, and other mechanized equipment, and the placing of agriculture on a more scientific basis have not only insured the adequacy of the food supply, but have permitted the accumulation of large reserves. Finally, the rational geographic distribution of production facilities and the relatively high degree of self-sufficiency place the Soviet Union in a position of advantage not enjoyed by most other industrial countries.

Hence, it appears that the economic potential of the Soviet Union for purposes of conducting a modern war, even against the most formidable industrial nation of Europe, is beyond comparison with that of Tsarist Russia. This economic potential probably exceeds many of the estimates of Soviet economic strength so frequently made of late by observers from the outside. The economic strength of the Soviet Union may indeed prove decisive, particularly if the USSR is destined to wage a long struggle of attrition with the economic forces at the command of the Third Reich.

²⁵ "Statistics on the Soviet Union," *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, June, 1941, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 48-49.

²⁶ For Germany, see: "International Living Standards," *The Conference Board Economic Record*, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York, May 24, 1941, Vol. III, No. 10, p. 214-218, particularly p. 217; also "International Cost of Living Comparisons," *Ibid.*, June 11, 1941, Vol. III, No. 11, p. 245-256, particularly p. 250-251. For the Soviet Union, see: *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*, op. cit., Stalin, J., p. 29-32; Molotov, V., p. 107-9, 142-152; *SSSR i Kapitalisticheskie Strany*, op. cit., p. 81-117; Voznesensky, N., op. cit., p. 6-9, 24-26, 39-41.

THE ARMED FORCES OF THE USSR

(Condensed from the *Malaia Soviet Encyclopedia*,* 2nd Ed., 1940,
Volume 10)

The armed forces of the Soviet Union, which include the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the Workers' and Peasants' Navy, border and internal troops, have as their purpose the defense of the integrity and independence of the Socialist State of workers and peasants, the defense of the interests of the peoples of the USSR. "The defense of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every Soviet citizen" (Soviet Constitution of 1936, Article 133). In purpose, social essence and internal structure the armed forces of the USSR differ in principle from those of Tsarist Russia or of any capitalist state.

For twenty-odd years, the armed forces of the USSR successfully routed all attempts at intervention and internal counter-revolution, and they have grown stronger, in step with the increasing economic and political strength of the Soviet Union. After the Civil War (1918-1920), the armed forces were reorganized on a peace-time basis and their technical equipment and tactics were improved. During the first and second Five-Year Plans, a thorough-going technical reconstruction of the Soviet armed forces was carried through; measures were adopted to effect a tighter organizational structure, and the military and political preparedness was increased.

The armament race in the capitalist countries and the development of the second imperialist war demanded particular vigilance and military preparedness on the part of the Soviet army. Under these circumstances, "the Central Committee of the Party, and the Government, under Stalin's immediate leadership, uninterruptedly strengthened and modernized our armed forces." (Voroshilov at 18th Party Congress). The military budget has increased from year to year; in 1938, 23,151,000,000 rubles were spent on defense, while in 1939 the budget called for an expenditure of 40,835,000,000 rubles. The armed forces at the time the war began in 1939 were

* Marshal Voroshilov is listed as editor on military affairs.

three and one-half times larger than in 1939, and the borders of the Soviet Union were girded by a belt of fortified districts. The actions of the Red Army against the Japanese at the end of July and the beginning of August, 1938, at Lake Khasan; the joint action of Soviet and Mongol armies on the Manchurian-Mongolian frontier in the summer of 1939, and the operations in the occupation of Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia in September of 1939 demonstrated the power, organization and solidity of the Soviet armed forces.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE USSR

Article fourteen of the Soviet Constitution specifies that questions of war and peace, the organization of the defense of the USSR and the leadership of all its armed forces, come under the jurisdiction of the higher organs of power and state administration. The appointment and replacement of the higher command, the declaration (in periods between sessions of the Supreme Soviet) of a state of war in the event of attack upon the USSR or in the case of the necessity of fulfilling international treaty obligations of mutual assistance in the event of aggression, the declaration of general or partial mobilization and the declaration of martial law in the country at large or in individual areas, all come within the functions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Constitution, Art. 49, para. i, k, l, p). The Council of People's Commissars is charged with determining the annual contingents (classes) subject to service in the armed forces, and also the general structure of the armed forces (Constitution, Art. 68, para. d). The direct leadership of the armed forces is in the hands of two All-Union Commissariats, the People's Commissariats of Defense and of the Navy, and the union-republic People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.¹ Until 1937 the naval forces of the USSR were organizationally integrated into the Red Army, and also came under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Defense. But the necessity of reinforcing the ocean frontiers and establishing a large ocean fleet resulted in the formation of an inde-

¹ On February 3, 1941, the Commissariat of Internal Affairs was divided into the Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the Commissariat of State Security.

pendent Commissariat of Navy.² The border guards and internal troops are under the control of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

UNIVERSAL OBLIGATION FOR MILITARY SERVICE

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted on September 1, 1939, the law on "Universal Obligation for Military Service," in place of the outdated "Law on Obligatory Military Service" of August 13, 1930. The new law takes into account both the provisions of the 1936 Constitution, in accordance with which it was promulgated, and the changes which have taken place since the adoption of the earlier law in the development of the Soviet people and State. It is based on the real equality of all citizens. Its first article states: "Universal obligation to perform military service is hereby declared to be the law. Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is the honorable duty of the citizens of the USSR." (Article 132 of the Constitution of the USSR.) The law obligates all male citizens to perform military service in the armed forces, and women with medical, veterinary, or special technical qualifications may also be drafted for certain auxiliary and extraordinary duties. Military service is defined to include both active service and service in the Army and Navy reserve. All members of the armed forces and all others who are qualified to serve must take the oath of loyalty to their people, to their Soviet fatherland and to the Workers' and Peasants' government of the USSR.

Persons subject to military duty, whether or not they are in active service, are divided into the categories of command and rank-and-file. The former is further subdivided into higher, senior, middle, and junior.³ However, as distinct from the armies of capitalist states, there are not and cannot be any class distinctions and antagonisms between the rank-and-file and the higher command, a fact which is of tremendous importance in creating unity and strength in all military organs.

The law of September 1, 1939, establishes the following terms of service for the various branches of the armed forces:

² Decree of Council of People's Commissars and of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, December 30, 1937, approved at the first session of the first Supreme Soviet of the USSR on January 15, 1938.

³ The last corresponds to non-commissioned officers.—*Ed.*

<i>Category</i>	<i>Rank-and-file</i>	<i>N.C.O.</i>
Land forces of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army	2	3
Army and Navy Air Corps	3	3
Coast Defense Forces	4	4
Navy	5	5
Internal troops	2	3
Land forces of the border troops	3	3
Ships of the border troops	4	4

Each year citizens who have reached the age of 19 are called to the colors. Graduates of high schools and similar secondary educational institutions are drafted immediately upon leaving school, if they have passed their eighteenth birthday. The raion (county) and city draft boards, organized to assist in the selection of persons for active service, have the right to grant deferments on grounds of illness or dependency. A man is entitled to deferment if he is the only able-bodied individual in a family containing two persons incapable of working. The draft commissions also have the right to free persons entirely from military service on physical grounds, subject to the approval of the Commissar. Secondary school students are granted deferment until graduation, but not beyond the age of twenty.

Non-commissioned officers and members of the rank-and-file remain in the reserve until the age of fifty. The reserve is divided into two categories. The first category consists of men who have completed active service. The second category includes: (a) draftees who were not called to active service because the quota for the year was filled; (b) persons deferred because of dependents; (c) persons classified as suitable for auxiliary service in time of war. For the duration of their membership in the reserve, both rank-and-file and the non-commissioned officers are called up for training, review and maneuver for varying periods. The registration of persons subject to service takes place at their place of residence. In accordance with the Constitution of the USSR, all members of the services and persons called up for freshening retain their full rights and obligations as citizens,⁴ which is one of the basic distinctions between the armed forces of the USSR and those of capitalist States.

⁴ They may vote and be elected to office.

For the purpose of raising the military qualifications of the youth, prior to their period of active service in the armed forces, the Law provides (Ch. VII) for elementary military training for students in the fifth and seventh grades of elementary school, and pre-service training for students in the eighth and tenth years of secondary schools of all sorts, and also for students of higher educational institutions who have not passed through a period of active service training.

LOCAL ORGANS OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

In those union republics which are not subdivided into oblasts, in autonomous republics, in autonomous oblasts, krais and okrugs there exist independent military commissariats. In those cities which are further subdivided into raions, the raion commissariats are subordinated to those of the city as a whole. The main functions of the raion commissariats is the registration of persons subject to the draft, the carrying through of the regular draft and of mobilization. Further, the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party set up military sections of its raion, city, okrug, oblast, krai, and republic committees, whose function it is to aid the corresponding government organs in the execution of the duties enumerated above, and also in the organization of air-raid protection and similar undertakings.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY

Marshal of the Soviet Union Timoshenko⁵ heads the People's Commissariat of Defense and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. A consultative organ, the Military Council, is also attached to the Commissariat of Defense. In addition to this, there has been created by Decree of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (March 13, 1938), an eleven-man Chief Military Council of the Red Army. Joseph Stalin is a member of this committee. The central apparatus of the Commissariat of Defense includes: the General Staff, the Political Adminis-

⁵ He replaced Voroshilov as Commissar in May, 1940. Marshal Voroshilov is now a member of the five-man Council on State Defense, set up July 1, 1941. For biographical notes, see p. 51.

tration, which exercises the rights granted to the Military Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party,⁶ the Air Force Administration, the Inspection Service, and the various departments.

The territory of the Soviet Union is divided into a number of military districts and separate armies. At the head of each district, with its army, there stands its Military Council consisting of the commander of the district (and, therefore, of its Army) and two additional members. The commanders of the districts and of the separate armies are immediately subordinate to the Commissar of Defense of the USSR. The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is now constructed on a unified regular army basis, under which its formations are filled without regard to the territory in which they are located or from which their recruits come, and which have a regular, fixed number of officers and men.

The Red Army is armed with first-class technical means of combat of all types and purposes. The general density of technical armament may be characterized by the increase in mechanical horsepower per man from 3.07 in 1930 to 13 in 1939. The Red Army possesses various types of troops and numerous special and auxiliary services.

The infantry makes up the largest part of the Red Army and forms the nucleus of the land forces. It is organized into rifle corps, consisting sometimes of two and sometimes of three infantry divisions. A typical infantry corps numbers 60,000 men, and the weight of the projectiles which it can fire in one minute totals 66,605 kilograms of metal, that is, considerably more than either a French or German corps is capable of firing. An infantry division generally consists of its command, three infantry regiments, an artillery regiment, a reconnaissance battalion, engineering and chemical troops, communications troops and various rear guard services. In 1939, the war strength of an infantry division consisted of 18,000 men.

⁶ The Organization of Political Commissars was abolished on August 13, 1940. Political workers remain, but are subordinate in rank to the officers commanding the formations to which they are attached. That political leadership in the Army remains of importance is attested to by the full pages given the speeches at the conferences of Communist Party members in the various military districts last fall, which elected the Party leadership in its military organizations.

Infantry training and particularly training in super-accurate fire—sniping—has been highly developed in the Red Army.

The Red Army's cavalry, divided into strategic and combat units, has been strengthened and reorganized in accordance with the demands of the present day. Based on a study of the experience of the Civil War in the USSR and the character of the possible theatres of war, the Red Army retains powerful bodies of cavalry, armed with new, complex and varied technical means.

Artillery plays an extremely important role in the make-up of the Red Army. Alongside of the combat artillery described above, there is also the High Command Artillery Reserve. Between 1930 and 1939, the heavy, intermediate and light artillery of the Red Army multiplied seven times, while the small calibre tank and anti-tank artillery at its disposal grew to seventy times its former size. In the last five years alone, the anti-aircraft artillery has quadrupled. In-fighting artillery, mine-throwers and bomb-throwers, have been introduced and produced on a large scale.

The auto-armed-tank troops of the Red Army have, in recent years, been transformed into one of the most important branches of the Army and possess great mobility and striking power. New types of tanks have been introduced, and between 1930 and 1939 their total number increased 43 times.

The Red Army's Air Force is a weapon of great power. The number of planes increased six and one-half times between 1930 and 1939, while the total horsepower of their motors multiplied three-fold in only five years. The Air Force includes all types of aircraft, —reconnaissance, attack, light-bombing, heavy-bombing and fighters. The Red Army possesses bombers and fighters with speeds higher than 310 miles per hour⁷ and ceiling of from 46,000 to 50,000 feet. The flying and technical personnel of the Red Army has achieved brilliant results in the technique of military trick flying, in speed, height, distance and blind flying, in the conduct of aerial combat, in aerial marksmanship and bombing. Parachute jumping has reached a high level of perfection in the Air Force and in other

⁷ These figures are culled from Voroshilov's report in April of 1939, more than two years ago.—*Ed.*

types of troops, and both individual and group jumps from great heights are practiced.

Aside from the type of troops listed above, the Red Army also includes the following special troops: communications, air defense, engineering (sappers and pontooners), chemical, searchlight, railroad and others. Means of chemical attack will be used by the Red Army only if the enemy uses them first.

Motorization is highly developed in the Red Army. For example, the greatest part of the artillery is hauled by mechanical means; communications troops are motorized; there are formations of motorized infantry.⁸ The supply troops which provide the combat troops with munitions, fuel, food, and fodder and personal effects are also motorized. The rear services of the Red Army include the medical, veterinary and military transportation services.

The training of the officers is, in the words of Voroshilov, "the permanent and most valuable capital of our defense." It is carried through both in the army formations (in the so-called regimental schools, which train non-commissioned officers) and in the military institutes of the various branches of the armed services for training the middle command. Beyond that level, the qualifications of the commanding staff are raised in the courses for the Perfection of the Command, and in the military academies. At the beginning of 1939, there were in the Red Army 63 schools for the land forces (above the level of the regimental schools), 32 schools for fliers and aviation mechanics, fourteen military academies and six military faculties in civilian universities.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' NAVY

The Navy and People's Commissariat is composed of: the Chief Naval Staff, the Political Administration of the Navy, effectuating the rights of the Naval Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Administration of Military Training, the Administration of Naval Aviation, and numerous other central administrations and departments. The Commissar also has the benefit of the

⁸ Since this article was written, the Soviet Union has produced approximately 500,000 trucks. The last available comparative statistics, 1938, showed Soviet production to be more than twice that of Germany, and 50 per cent larger than that of all non-Soviet continental Europe combined. *World Almanac*, 1941.—Ed.

advice of a consultative organ, the Chief Military Council of the Navy, of which A. A. Zhdanov, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, is a member.

The Navy is composed of four fleets, the Red Banner Baltic, the Black Sea, the Pacific and the Arctic and of three flotillas—the Caspian, Red Banner Amur, and Dnepr.⁹ The command of the fleets is lodged in their Military Councils, consisting of the Commander of the Fleet (now Admiral, since June 5, 1940) and members of the Council. The flotillas are headed by their Commanders and the Flotilla Commissar. The command of fleets and flotillas is immediately subordinate to the People's Commissar, but may, in certain cases, be placed in operative subordination to land forces.

The fleets and flotillas consist both of surface and underwater craft, naval aviation, coast defense, naval bases, and observation and communications services. With the conclusion of the Civil War, there began a quantitative and qualitative growth of the Navy, a growth which has been particularly rapid in the last few years. The years 1923-1938 were concentrated on light surface and underwater craft. By 1938 the Red Navy already occupied first place in the world in the number of submarines and torpedo motor-boats. But in the last few years, in accordance with the decision of the Party and government to build a great fleet, the construction of more powerful surface vessels has been undertaken.

Between 1930 and 1939 the total tonnage of the fleet increased 130 per cent. The newly-created Pacific Fleet numbered more than 100 vessels, not counting small ones [probably referring to torpedo-boats and auxiliary craft—*Ed.*] in 1939.

Included in the Red Navy are the following classes of vessels: battleships, cruisers, destroyer squadron-leaders, destroyers, monitors, submarines (large, medium-sized and small), mine-sweepers, trawlers, gunboats, dispatch boats, torpedo boats, patrol boats. There are also auxiliary vessels, such as training ships, floating bases, transports, rescue ships and others. In recent years the Red Navy has been enlarged by the addition of a number of vessels of the latest Soviet design, including the powerful cruiser *Kirov*, the destroyer

⁹ Since September, 1939, reports have appeared of flotillas on the Danube, the Pruth and the Bug.—*Ed.*

squadron-leader *Gnevnyi* and others.¹⁰ Under construction at present are an additional number of vessels and motor-boats of the latest design.

The Soviet river flotillas at present include the following types of vessels: monitors, gunboats, armored motor boats, trawlers, dispatch boats, patrol boats and auxiliary vessels.

The vessels of the Red Navy carry the following battle equipment: powerful artillery, torpedo tubes, heavy armor, anti-submarine and mine defenses, and various means of observation and communications. The basic formations of naval vessels are the divisions and the brigades, but in the river flotillas, only the division.

The naval aviation possesses planes of various types: heavy planes, torpedo bombers, aerial mine-laying, reconnaissance planes, attack and fighting planes and planes performing various auxiliary functions.

The shore defenses consist for the most part of coastal artillery, to which land troops may be assigned upon occasion, and also naval squadrons and aviation.

The training of the cadres of the Naval commanding staff takes place in the following types of institutions: special courses in the training formations for the preparation of junior officers, naval schools, of which there were fourteen in 1939, for the training of the intermediate ranks of the command, and special courses for the Navy command, the Naval Medical Faculty, and the two Naval academies (command and technical).

¹⁰ On June 10, 1941, the American press carried a dispatch from Moscow announcing the launching of a new large naval vessel.

THE BATTLE ZONE

The outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union opens up an old front, scarred through the centuries. It opens up the old wounds of the Great War and Civil War of twenty-five years ago when the German army occupied the Ukraine, trying to erect a puppet "independent" state; when the Red republics of the Baltic were put down by German arms and superseded by the post-war independent Baltic States; when the Red Finns were eliminated by Mannerheim, backed by General Von der Goltz; when Rumania seized Bessarabia from the Russians, and Poland was overrun by armies of various colors and nationalities. It brings back to the front as commanders many who were common soldiers in the Tsar's army and later guerrilla troops or Red Army men fighting over the familiar terrain for the liberation of their country from the German invaders and the "counter-revolutionary" forces armed and fed from abroad. Among these many are the leaders of the Red Army: Timoshenko, Voroshilov, Budyenny. Today, as at that time, many contradictory forces are called into play, and no matter what the immediate outcome in terms of military forces and strategic position, in the long run these factors remain of great importance. The mixture of nationalities, the memories of the last war, the contrasting economies lying across the frontiers will all play a part in determining the outcome of the battle, as will the strength and military skill of the tremendous armed forces pitted against each other in Eastern Europe.

This article will therefore try to outline the setting in which the Soviet-German war is being waged from the White Sea to the Black Sea. It will attempt to sketch in the history within living memory, as well as the traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation; to recall recent events which have changed the setup in certain areas. Some account will also be given of the economy lying behind the Red Army, for history has moved on and while one may recall the Napoleonic invasion or the guerrilla and partisan fighting in the Civil War days, today the highly mechanized Soviet army is fighting, backed up by a functioning

economy which has been planned and organized by a government alert from its inception to the problem of defense.

The Northern front from the Arctic to the Baltic is the area made familiar to the world by the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939/40. A land of lakes and forests, it is a most difficult terrain for military operations—more so in the summer than in the winter, when its frozen surfaces make up for lack of roads. The objectives in this area in attacking the Soviet Union are two-fold: first, to cut off communications to Murmansk; and, second, to attack Leningrad, the second city of the Soviet Union.

THE KOLA PENINSULA

The Kola Peninsula, with its warm water port of Murmansk, kept open by the Gulf stream the year round, is the terminus of the oldest trade channel between Britain and Russia. Today it remains the only direct route open for Soviet-British trade and, as in the last war, it has become a key strategic point. It was for military purposes that the railroad running north from St. Petersburg to Murmansk was rushed to completion in 1915. And it was through this port that the Allies in 1918 tried to reestablish an Eastern front. In the spring of that year the British and Americans landed there and shortly came into conflict with German and Finnish troops which were moving in across Karelia to cut off the railway. For the next two years the Karelian territory and the Kola Peninsula were fought over by the Allies, the Germans, the Finns, and the Bolsheviks. In 1920 a peace was signed between Finland and the Soviet Government which recognized Soviet authority over most of the Kola Peninsula and of the territory inhabited by Karelians.

Today, the strategic situation is the same, but much has changed in the area in the past twenty years. The Kola Peninsula itself is a rich area (53,600 square miles). Its population of nearly 300,000 compares with the 10,000 in the last war and its abundant resources of apatite and nepheline have made it a center for the chemical industry. Aluminum, copper and nickel are also among the new resources developed there. Murmansk itself has grown from 8,777 in 1926 to 117,054 in 1939 and the towns of Kirovsk, Monchegorsk and Kandalaksha are of increasing importance. At Poliarnoe is located

the naval base of the Northern fleet, established in 1933, and this Gibraltar of the Arctic has been heavily fortified.¹

KARELIA

Connecting the White Sea with Leningrad and central Russia there is not only the railroad, but the 141-mile Baltic-White Sea canal, completed in 1933 which passes through the new Karelo-Finnish Union Republic. The defense position of the region was strengthened after the Finnish-Soviet war, by the cession of two areas; one, the Rybachi Peninsula which dominates the western coast of the bay in which Finland's Arctic port of Petsamo is situated; the other, opposite Kandalaksha where the neck of Karelia is narrowest and the railroad formerly ran within fifty miles of the border.

The Karelian Republic itself, promoted to a union republic in March, 1940, has been called the "sawmill" of the Soviet Union. With a population of somewhat more than 300,000 scattered in an area as large as Nebraska, Karelia has no cities of great size; Petrozavodsk, its capital, has a population of 69,728. Militarily, its great importance lies in the approach to Leningrad. It will be recalled that during the Civil War, in 1919, an attack on Petrograd was launched from the North by the Finnish Whites under General Mannerheim, who with the help of the Germans had two years before put down the Finnish Soviet government.

LENINGRAD

Leningrad, cradle of the Revolution, until 1940 remained an imperilled salient, but thirty miles from the Finnish frontier. Lake Ladoga, washing at its back door, lay half in Finland, and Estonia flanked it closely on the South. The naval approaches through the Baltic were held entirely by "client" states, heavily subject to foreign pressures. As a result of the Peace Treaty with Finland in March, 1940 the Soviets pushed the frontier back beyond Viipuri, some 100 miles from Leningrad, and leased the naval base of Hango at the mouth

¹ For further material on the Kola Peninsula, see, Field, Wm. B. Osgood, Jr., "The Kola Peninsula: Gibraltar of the Western Arctic," *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, July, 1938. p. 3-21.

For material on Karelia, see Sergeyev, *The Saga of the Karelo-Finnish Republic*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1941.

of the Gulf of Finland. Under the mutual assistance pact with Estonia, signed September 28, 1939, it previously had established a naval base on the South coast at Baltisky Port and on the Dago and Oesel Islands. These were later reinforced as a result of Estonian entrance into the USSR in August, 1940. In this way, Leningrad, its naval base at Kronstadt and its important commercial port regained the sea defenses it held under the Tsar.

The city itself is one of the most important industrial centers of the USSR, for it was there that much of the modern industry of Tsarist Russia was located. Its skilled workers were assigned to developing new industries and there the first turbines, the first tractors, etc., were built, though later the center for their production was transferred to other areas, as the techniques were mastered. It now has a population of over three million, centered in metallurgical industries, producing machine tools, sheets and tubes, shipbuilding and precision instruments. The chemical industry, based on raw material from Kola Peninsula, has also been built up. Aluminum, synthetic rubber, textiles, timber products must be added to its list as well. Today its industry produces more than ten times that of old St. Petersburg and hydroelectric development has relieved it of the necessity of bringing the fuel from afar to turn its lathes.

Because of its vulnerable location it was decided that under the third Five-Year Plan further industrial expansion in that region should be stopped, but in the spring of this year the order was rescinded. Its research institutes, almost as famous as its opera and ballet theatres and its museums, have long supplied an important share in the scientific base for Soviet technological advance.

THE CENTRAL FRONT

The main theatre of war today, that between the Black Sea and the Baltic, is an area so complex in its history, so mixed in nationalities and religions, in the remnants of primitive, almost feudal, economy next to modern industry, that a review in brief compass may but confuse the picture. But in this very complexity lie some of the most important factors in the present struggle.

The vast plain of Eastern Europe is broken only by the Pripet Marshes between the Ukraine and Belorussia and the great rivers—

the Neman and Bug, flowing north to the Baltic, the Dnieper, Dniester and Prut, draining to the Black Sea. Wooded in the west, it slopes off to the east in Central Russia. Its history traces back to ancient Kiev, first capital of a Russian state, and to the Lithuanian Princedom of the 14th century, stretching eastward to Smolensk, which later merged with the Polish state. The conflicts of religions—Catholic and Greek Orthodox—have left their mark in the social stratifications of the area. National rivalries between German, Pole, Lithuanian, Russian have been carried down to most recent times. And it is in this area that there is one of the greatest concentrations of Jews in the world.

At the outbreak of war the area included the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Moldavian Republics of the USSR. It is of some significance to note that, save for Lithuania and that centuries ago, these nations were not defined as nation-states until the close of the last war, and that all received recognition as independent national entities first from the Soviet government. The whole area had been a part of the Russian Empire since the beginning of the 19th century and in it much of Tsarist industry was centered. It was here, as in St. Petersburg, another manufacturing center, that the revolutionary movement of workers received its earliest impetus. Coupled with this, the “nationality problem” of the region had stirred the peasantry against the Tsar. In fact, it was the Russification policy in the second half of the 19th century that gave rise to a national-liberation movement among the non-Russian groups along the western borders. And in 1905 when the wave of strikes and uprisings in Russia spread all down the Baltic coast, it found itself aligned with the nationalist struggle of the peasantry and with the masses of Jews in what is now Belorussia in the fight for a measure of relief from Tsarist oppression. It was after the suppression of these risings that the greatest numbers from Eastern Europe sought refuge in America, peoples of all the oppressed nationalities, as well as Russian workers.

While all parts of the area share this much in common, and also share the memory of German occupation during and after the last war, there are differences between the various sections. It will perhaps be most useful, therefore, to take each one up in turn.

ESTONIA

Estonia, the northernmost of the Baltic states, suffered least in the last war and although the Germans occupied the important islands of Oesel and Dago off its coast in 1917, it was not until after the Revolution that they were "invited" in by the anti-Bolshevik forces to put down the Soviet government. By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, the Soviet Government had renounced all claims to the Baltic Provinces and even before this an Estonian government had been set up. After the collapse of Germany, there was a very short period—about three months—in which a Bolshevik government, the Estonian Labor Commune (ETK)—was reestablished on a small part of Estonia around Narva. However, the British fleet arrived in Revel shortly after the Germans left, and with its backing the anti-Bolshevik government soon regained control, and as an ally of the Entente in the Intervention period Estonia served as the base of Yudenich's operations against Petrograd. Not until February, 1920 was peace made with the RSFSR.

LATVIA

In Latvia the story is somewhat different. In the first place the history of anti-German feeling is much longer, for here the Baltic Barons were most strongly entrenched, as large land-holders and controllers of local government. Moreover, present Latvia was occupied by German troops from 1914 onwards, so that even the industries were evacuated from Riga early in the war. The fierce patriotism of the Latvians became famous throughout the Russian armed forces and it was even possible in a small area of the province to establish temporary governments following the February and the October revolutions. But by February, 1918, the Germans had reoccupied all and in their desperate search for food for their allies proceeded to strip the region down to famine level. In the interval between the German defeat in November, 1918, and the Allies' permission for German occupation of those areas to "restore order,"² Latvia had a second short-lived Bolshevik government. It survived five months until General von der Goltz brought back his troops and set up another government. This was followed in 1919, again as in

² See, condition of Armistice, Nov. 11, 1918. Wheeler-Bennett, John, W. *The Forgotten Peace*. William Morrow & Company, New York, 1939. p. 450.

Estonia, by a British-backed regime. Finally in 1920, a peace was signed with the RSFSR which had already recognized Latvian independence in December, 1918.

LITHUANIA

Lithuania has a far longer history than its Baltic neighbors, and, though until recently separated geographically from the USSR by eastern Poland, its history is closely interwoven with that of Russia. The old Lithuanian state, as mentioned above, once extended even east of what is now Belorussia. Later, it formed the union with Poland at the beginning of the 15th century in a joint struggle against German expansion from the west and Russian from the east. Three centuries later, with the partition of Poland of 1795, Lithuania became part of the Russian Empire. It too shared the experience of its neighbors in suffering the Russification policy and the conflict of religion with the Tsar, and in 1904-05 the Lithuanian national liberation movement reached a high point.

During the last war, Lithuania was occupied by the Germans in 1915 and an effort was made to establish a puppet government there under a German Prince. In 1918 independence was declared and a Lithuanian government was organized with the permission of the Germans. History here paralleled that of the other Baltic provinces. In December of that year a Bolshevik government of the Lithuanian SSR was formed in Vilna, historic capital of Lithuania, and two months later the new republic joined with Belorussia to form the SSR of Lithuania and Belorussia known as *Litbel*. Together they fought a losing battle against the Poles and Germans. And although the Red Army once wrested Vilna from the Poles and returned it to the Lithuanians, whose independence they had recognized in September, 1920, a month later the Poles seized it again and when the shooting was over Lithuania was an independent state minus Vilna.

One writer has summarized the denouement of the wartime history of the Baltic as follows: "In Estonia, a bourgeois government held its own with the help of a British squadron and of White Russian troops. The Latvian Soviet Republic was destroyed through the instrumentality of von der Goltz's cohorts, while in Lithuania the Germans and the Poles prevented the establishment of a Red

regime.”³ These small republics, having been used as bases for intervention, now became links in the *Cordon Sanitaire*.

BELORUSSIA

Belorussia had no independent history until after the World War. Although a Belorussian nationalist movement found voice as early as 1903, protest against the Tsarist regime in that area was centered more particularly in the socialistic movements, such as the Jewish *Bund* and the P.P.S. (Socialist Party of Poland). Following the Revolution, Bolshevik forces were able to remain in Minsk up to February 1918, when the area of German occupation was further extended eastward. After the German collapse, Soviet power returned for the short period of the *Litbel* Soviet Republic, but in April 1919, when the Poles took Vilna, capital of the Republic, the government moved back to Minsk and by the Peace of Riga, half of ethnic Belorussia was left in Polish control.

THE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

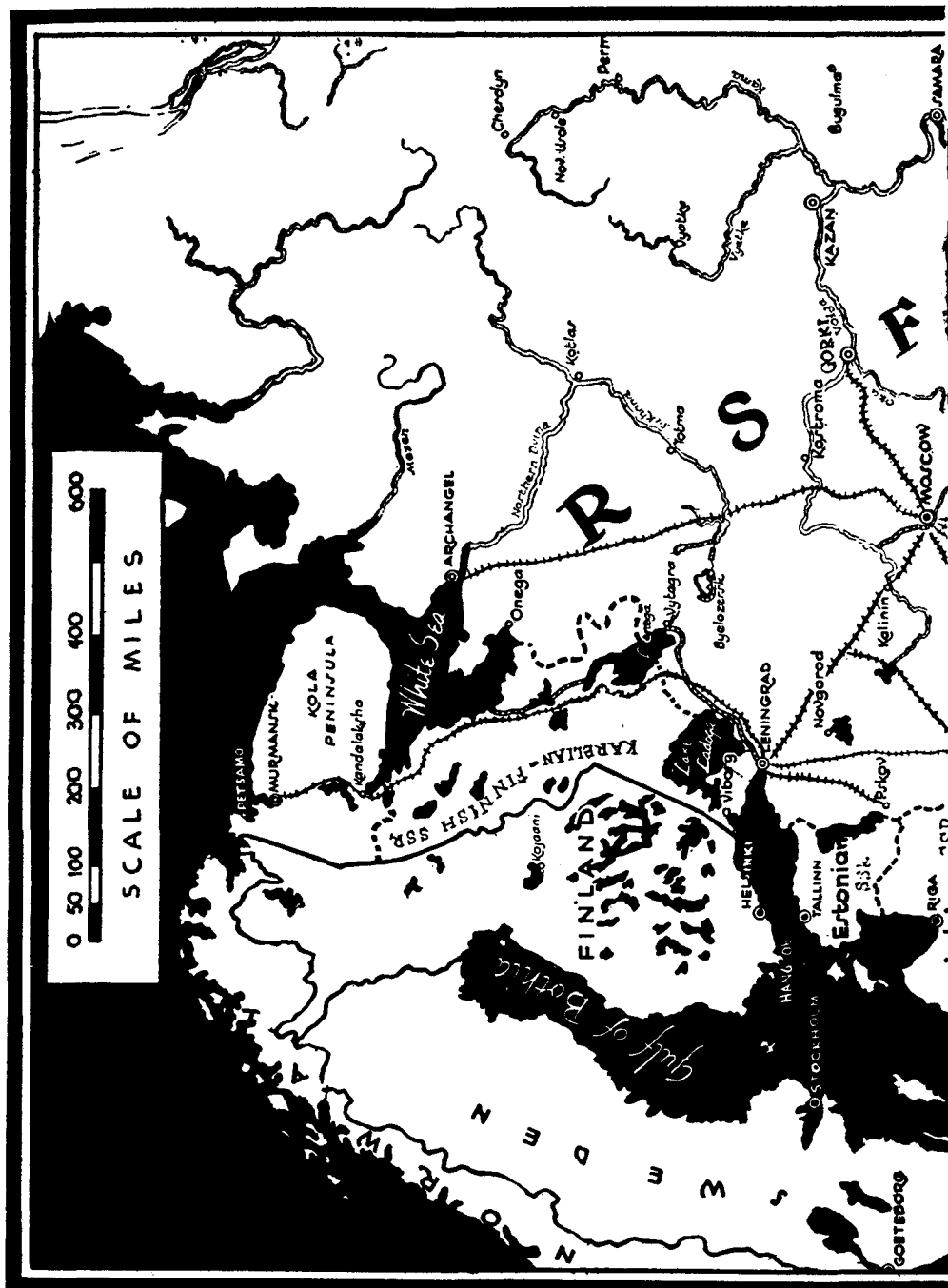
In the final peace settlement after the World War, the western section of the former Russian Empire presented a serious problem to the victorious allies. It had been part of the “Fourteen Points” that the Russian Empire should not be carved up: only ethnic Poland and Finland had been recognized as entitled to separation, for it was clear that other sections would have difficulty in standing alone and were moreover economically bound to the Russian hinterland. The Curzon line, proposed as the eastern boundary of Poland, was an ethnic line, and would have given Western Belorussia and Western Ukraine to the Soviets. It has been reported that the two-year delay in Allied recognition of the new Poland was due to their anxiety over the inclusion of so much non-Polish territory.^{4a} The independence of the Baltic States was a further stumbling block, and not until 1922 did the United States finally agree to recognize them.

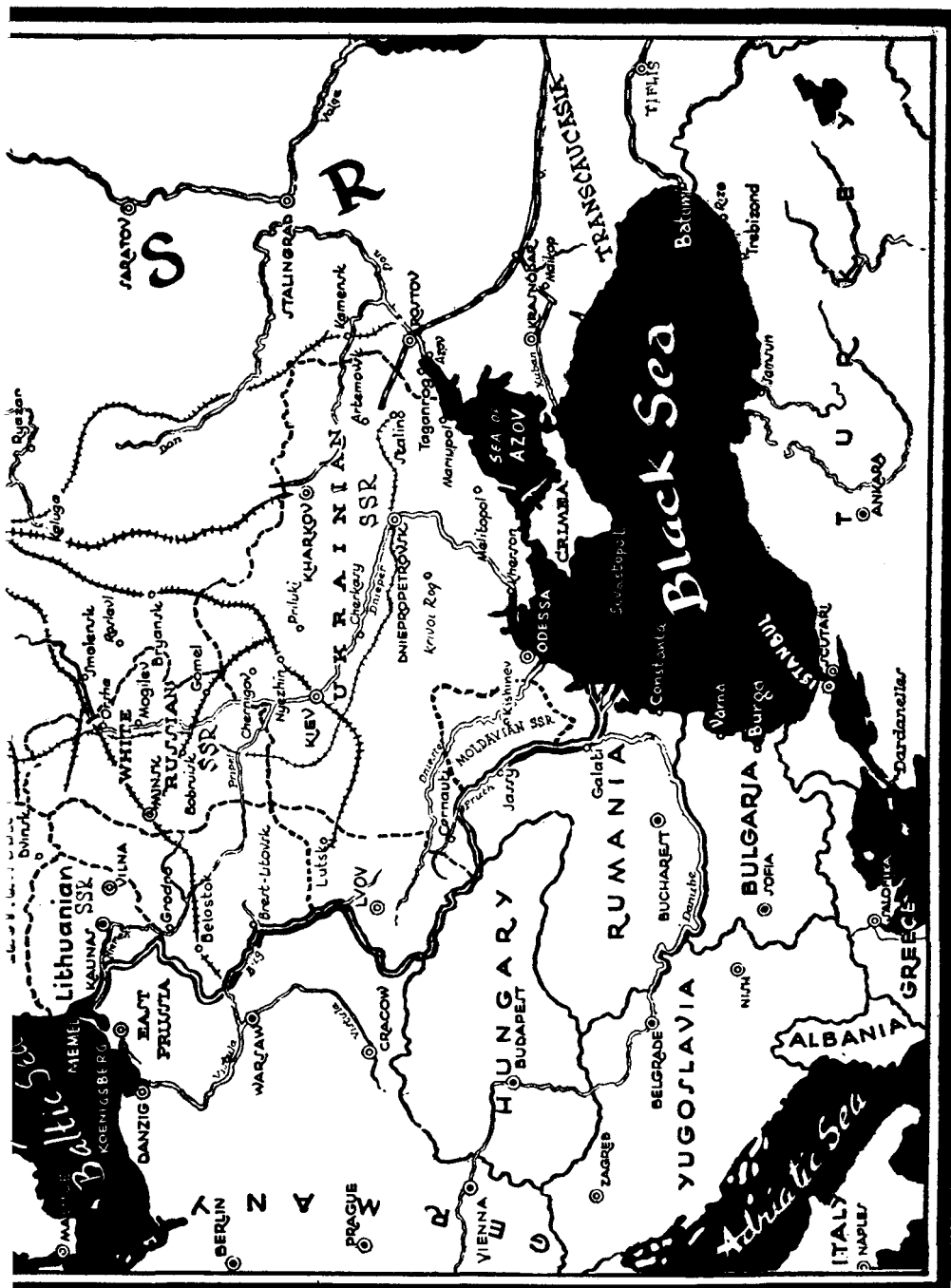
In the post-war years the history of the Baltic States is fairly familiar.⁴ With difficulty and only limited success did they adjust

³ Fischer, Louis, *The Soviets in World Affairs*. Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, New York, 1930, p. 193.

^{4a} Fischer, Louis, *op. cit.* p. 275.

⁴ See also, “The USSR and the Border States,” *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, October 20, 1939.





their economies to the terrific wrench of transforming from industrial centers for Russia to agricultural and raw material sources for England and Germany.⁵ Lithuania had the further difficulty of unsolved quarrels with its big neighbors: Poland had Vilna, Lithuania's old capital, and Lithuania had been given Memel claimed by Germany. (Memel was retaken by Germany in March 1939.)

Although these states were among the very first to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR and later to sign non-aggression pacts, it never proved possible to organize the peace of Eastern Europe because of German unwillingness (1934) to sign a joint guarantee with the USSR and German-Polish opposition to the Franco-Soviet scheme for an Eastern Security Pact.

It was not until the outbreak of war between England and Germany in 1939 that closer relations between the USSR and the Baltic states were established and this in the Mutual Assistance Pacts of September-October, 1939 mentioned above. At that time Vilna was returned to Lithuania by the Soviets. Following charges that the governments of the Baltic states were failing to live up to the pacts, Moscow demanded of them in June that a government change be made to bring in cabinets more friendly to the Soviet Union. The resignation of the governments was followed by popular elections to National Assemblies which in July voted to petition for admission to the Soviet Union.⁶

In the few months that have passed since the establishment of Soviet governments in these republics, a number of fundamental social changes have been made. In the first place the German population was repatriated under an agreement between the USSR and Germany.⁷ As descendants of the old Baltic Barons they had in many cases held a dominant place in the life of the Baltic states, both as large landowners and industrialists. Secondly, the estates were broken up and a maximum of thirty hectares was permitted each

⁵ For example, in Estonia the industrial population declined from 48,000 in 1914 to 23,000 in 1939. In Latvia, the important port of Libau declined in population from 100,000 in 1914 to 57,000 in 1939.

⁶ For chronology of events leading up to the entrance of the Baltic States into the USSR, see *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, Nov., 1940 and "Procedure in the Admission of the Baltic States Into the USSR," p. 101 of the same issue.

⁷ *New York Times*, January 11, 1941.

household.⁸ The process of carrying out the division of the land was completed and in some areas the peasants began to form collective farms. Machinery and technical assistance were being sent in by the Soviet Government. At the same time large business enterprises, banks, etc., were nationalized, while at the same time the rights and interests of small business people were protected. Economic reconstruction was undertaken and the Soviet press reported that the serious unemployment problem, recently aggravated by the blockade, had been practically solved.

In the social sphere the nationality and religious propensities of the population were recognized. Catholic priests were permitted to retain land for their personal use under the Lithuanian Constitution. Schools were organized for the different national groups within the republics, and the smaller national groups were represented in the government.⁹ A significant fact throwing some light on the attitude of the peoples in the new Soviet republics was the incorporation into the Red Army of the former armies of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. A number of their officers were given ranks in the Red Army.¹⁰

Such sharp social changes have undoubtedly left their mark, both in the frictions arising therefrom, and the support elicited by them. Social and national alignments in the Baltic area undoubtedly will, as in the last war, have their role to play in the outcome of the fighting.

THE BELORUSSIAN SSR

Belorussia, one of the four original members of the USSR, had been before the revolution one of the most backward and poverty-stricken agricultural areas of the Russian Empire. Huge landed estates embraced most of the good land so that large numbers of landless peasants were forced to migrate from Belorussia to eastern

⁸ For further information on the steps taken in the Baltic States, see Trainin, I, "The Constitutions of the Baltic Republics," *American Review on the Soviet Union*, April, 1941, pp. 28-41.

⁹ Of the 25 delegates to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR from each union republic, Lithuania sent 2 Belorussians and 1 Jew; Estonia—2 Russians; and Latvia—1 Russian and 1 Pole.

¹⁰ *Pravda*, December 20, 1940.

sections of Russia. Industry was almost completely lacking and what little there was remained at a handicraft level in the work shops primarily of the Jewish artisans. The German occupation and the ravages of the Civil War had reduced to ruin the productive activity both in industry and agriculture.

While relatively poor in natural resources, Belorussia in the last two decades enjoyed an industrial development which brought its factory output in 1937 to twenty times the level of 1913. Based on fuel resources in its huge peat bogs, industries have been built up, making use of the farm products such as flax and hemp as well as other local resources. Textiles, glass, lumber products, cellulose and paper are now among Belorussia's manufactures. Some agricultural machinery is now produced locally for use in the area.

Agriculture has also been reorganized so that by 1939 there were some 10,000 collective farms, representing 97 per cent of the sown area. The services of 215 machine tractor stations made available to the farms mechanized equipment of all kinds. This is particularly important in Belorussia where a large part of agricultural activity is centered on industrial crops such as flax, hemp, kok sagyz (rubber bearing plants), and potatoes.

Minsk, the capital of the republic, situated near the old border some 496 miles west of Moscow, is the largest city of the republic, now having a population of 238,772. The other cities of importance are Vitebsk (167,424 pop.), Gomel (144,169 pop.), and Mogilev (99,440 pop.).

The 10,000,000 population of Belorussia is heterogeneous. Belorussians make up 80 per cent of that in the old section, Jews 10 per cent and the other 10 per cent was divided between Ukrainians, Poles and Great Russians. In the urban areas the percentage of Jews was very much higher. The polyglot nature of Belorussian life is reflected in the schools, the press, the theatre where each nationality has its own institutions.

The unification of all Belorussian territory by Soviet occupation of the Western Ukraine doubled the population of the republic, bringing it to approximately 10,000,000, and doubled its area. The new sections of both Belorussia and the Ukraine were primarily

rural.¹¹ The social stratification between the Roman Catholic Polish landlords and government officials and the Greek Orthodox Belorussian and Ukrainian peasantry had persisted through the centuries. In the small cities there was textile production and some other light industries, but despite the peat and forest resources there was little modern industry. Following the amalgamation of the Western Belorussia with the USSR the land was divided among the peasants and steps were taken to relieve the unemployed of the towns. The nationality composition found quick reflection in the deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia from the new districts: 136 Belorussians, 33 Russians, 4 Ukrainians, 12 Jews, 15 Poles, 1 Georgian, and 1 Lithuanian. And of the schools now operating, 4,280 are Belorussian, 173 Russian, 932 Polish, 150 Jewish, 61 Lithuanian and 49 Ukrainian.

THE UKRAINIAN SSR

South of the Pripyet Marshes lies the rich Ukrainian SSR. Geographically, the Ukraine merges into the central Russia steppes; historically it too had no national recognition until the end of the last war. Although a people with nearly a thousand years of history and culture, stemming from the Kiev State, the Ukrainians suffered the loss of the last vestige of national independence more than a century and a half ago. In 1775, Catherine II liquidated the Zaporozhe Sech on the east bank of the Dnieper, while the Western Ukrainians had fallen completely under the domination of the Polish state. Following the partition of Poland, the bulk of the Ukrainians came under the control of the Tsar. From that time on, Ukrainian nationalism sporadically manifested itself in risings against the Tsarist policy of Russification.

The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 brought in its train a rapid industrialization of the Ukrainian area because of the fabulous mineral resources of the Donbass and Krivoi Rog. It was this development which brought the Ukraine sharply to the attention of the western powers and the mines and metal works were financed primarily by western capital. By the time of the last World War, the

¹¹ For further information on the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia, see, "The Economy of the Western Ukraine and Belorussia," *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, June 7, 1940.

Ukraine, long recognized as the bread basket of east Europe, had also become second only to St. Petersburg as a center of Russia's industry. Yet it was primarily foodstuffs which the Germans sought in their occupation of that section of southern Russia in 1918. Huge deliveries of grain and fodder were promised to the Germans by the Ukrainian Government which had been set up to negotiate at Brest-Litovsk. It was failure to receive these deliveries that was one of the major factors in the collapse of the Austrian Empire and subsequently the German army. During the Civil War and Intervention the Ukraine was occupied in turn by Germans, White Guard Russians, and Poles. The bourgeois Ukrainian Rada, set up following the collapse of the Russian Empire, was never strong enough to protect Ukrainian independence, and it was not until the Soviet forces were reestablished and the Ukrainian SSR organized that anything approaching a Ukrainian state was in fact established, though part of Ukrainian territory remained under Polish control. In 1920 this republic signed a treaty of military and economic union with the RSFSR which was the forerunner of the formation of the Soviet Union in 1922.

In post-war years, the economic development of the Ukrainian SSR had been commensurate with its rich resources.¹² Although it occupied only little more than 2 per cent of the territory of the USSR and had but one-fifth of the total population, it accounted for just over half of Soviet output of coal, iron, and steel. The absolute figures represent a nine-fold rise over 1913 production from that area. Furthermore, these primary industries yielded their first place in Ukrainian economy to machine building which, in 1939, accounted for 27 per cent of total Ukrainian industrial output.

The economic geography has changed accordingly. The coal and steel center in the Donbass, situated in the extreme southeast of the Ukraine and projecting into the RSFSR, and the Krivoi Rog iron ore district have been supplemented by the industrial region around the 900,000 kilowatt Dnieper hydroelectric station. There, alloyed

¹² For further information on the current development of the Ukraine, see, Ropes, E.C., "The Soviet Ukraine: Its Resources, Industries, and Potentialities," *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, U.S. Department of Commerce, July 5, 1939. See also, Mikhailov, N., *Land of the Soviets*, Lee Furman, New York, 1939. pp. 210-225.

steels are produced and other steel mills have risen on the shores of the Azov Sea at Zaporozhe. An aluminum works has gone up in Zaporozhe also utilizing Dnieper power, a zinc refinery at Konstantinovka; manganese production at Nikopol has increased greatly, and the only mercury refinery in the USSR has been established there. The machine-building industry has been expanded in its old centers, —Voroshilovgrad (locomotives), Nikolaev (shipbuilding), and agricultural machinery (Kharkov, Zaporozhe, Kirovograd, Kiev, and Osipenko). Entirely new branches of the industry have been established, some in the old centers, like the tractor works at Kharkov, the harvester-combine plant at Zaporozhe, the machine-tool plants at Kharkov and Kiev, and the turbine works at Kharkov, and others in new locations, such as the factories for heavy mining and metal-manufacturing equipment at Kramatorsk, and that for machinery for the chemical industry at Sumy.

Consumers' goods industries,—sugar-refining, shoe-manufacturing, tanning, canning,—have gone up in the westerly portion of the "old" Soviet Ukraine, but all the heavy industrial plants listed above, with the exception of those at Kiev, lie four hundred miles or more behind the border with German-controlled Poland.

The population of the cities has grown accordingly, so that there are now eight cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants.

POPULATION OF UKRAINIAN CITIES

<i>Cities</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1939</i>
Kiev	513,637	846,293
Kharkov	417,342	833,432
Odessa	420,862	604,223
Stalino	174,230	462,395
Zaporozhe	55,744	289,188
Makeevka	79,421	240,145
Mariupol	63,920	222,427
Voroshilovgrad	71,764	213,007

The fertile fields of the Ukraine now support an economy different in type from that which the Germany of twenty years ago sought so eagerly to command. The third of the peasantry, which was landless, or nearly so, at that time, is now established in collective farms having at their disposal (1938) 87,500 tractors,

29,000 harvester combines, 46,000 trucks, and corresponding quantities of auxiliary machines. Tractor power did 73 per cent of the plowing, 44 per cent of the sowing and 52 per cent of the harvesting of grain crops in 1938.

But the grain crop, although 11 per cent larger in 1937 than in 1913, is now harvested from only 70 per cent of the sown acreage, as against 90 per cent in 1913. The rest is chiefly devoted to industrial crops—sugar beet, hemp, tobacco, flax, cotton, soya beans and rubber (*kok sagyz*). Some indication of the improvement in methods of cultivation may be gathered from the fact that the average sugar-beet yield per acre multiplied five times in the five years from 1932 to 1937.

Agriculture, industry, and now the military depend for transport upon a well-planned, efficient, but small, rail and road system, and upon the great river of the Ukraine,—the Dnieper, which carries a small proportion of bulk freights. Inter-city truck transport is not highly developed, although there are 3,000 miles of regularly functioning “road-lines,” and trucks are used mainly in hauling between village and railroad, and in intra-city freight. However, much hauling of oil has been eliminated by the building of a pipeline from Armavir to the Donbass, and the electrification now well under way, of the Donbass—Krivoi Rog railroad, will be of much assistance in meeting the additional burdens of the war.

In September, 1939 the Soviet occupation of the Western Ukraine brought the unification of most of the area inhabited by the Ukrainian people. Small Ukrainian districts of Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia were subsequently added in 1940. In the predominately agricultural area of the Western Ukraine with its 8,000,000 people many of the peasants possessed little or no land and worked as farm laborers on the large Polish estates. In the urban areas of the six principal towns there were many unemployed as a result of the severe economic depression which had been suffered in Eastern Poland, in part because of the policy of the Polish Government to concentrate industry in Poland proper. The Ukrainian population had little opportunity to develop their culture—only 371 of the 4,000 schools were conducted in their language.

The first steps taken when the area was added to the USSR were

to reopen the schools, and to supervise the distribution of food.¹³ The simplest necessities such as salt, matches, kerosene, tobacco were shipped in.¹⁴ Ukrainian officials were sent to assist in the organization of local government, and the National Assembly, elected by universal, direct and secret suffrage, nationalized the banks, large-scale industry and the land. More than two and a quarter million acres were distributed to the landless peasants and to those with very little land. Agricultural machinery was imported. The Soviet press reported that in the first year production in the Drogobych oil fields doubled and that the problem of unemployed was handled both by stimulating local industry and by providing jobs in the Donbass and other Ukrainian industrial centers. Independent artisans and craftsmen were introduced to the Soviet way of life through the organization of producers cooperatives. By November, 1940, 475 of these had been established with a membership of 19,660. In the cultural field stress was laid from the outset on education. Of the 6,791 schools which functioned in the Western Ukraine in the first year of Soviet power 5,596 were Ukrainian, 922 Polish, 131 Jewish, 40 Czech, 9 German, and 30 mixed. Other branches of cultural life followed the same pattern, with professional theatres playing in the Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish, and other languages.

THE SOUTHERN FRONT

The southernmost front of the present war is along the Prut River separating Rumania from the former Bessarabian province. This area, long a part of the Russian Empire, was seized by the Rumanians in 1918. The Soviet Government never recognized the loss of the territory to Rumania and it had always been a point at issue between the two governments. In June, 1940, the Soviet Government asked the return of Bessarabia plus those sections of Northern Bukovina with a predominately Ukrainian population. When Rumania complied, the area was then divided administratively between the Ukrainian and Moldavian Republics: the southern districts bordering on the Danube and northernmost tip of Bessarabia and Bukovina became part of the Ukraine, while the bulk of Bessarabia joined Moldavia.

¹³ *New York Herald Tribune*, September 22, 1939.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, October 5, 1939.

Except for small industrial development in Kishinev, Akkerman, and Chernovitsi, this region lying between the Dniester and Prut rivers, has always been a rich agricultural land. But just as the Baltic states were cut off from their Russian hinterland, so did the peasants of Bessarabia suffer from loss of their former trade route on the Dniester and export center of Odessa. Under Rumanian control some land reforms had been undertaken to break up the largest of the estates, but the payments required from the peasants for the land thus received kept the large majority in extreme poverty. A large per cent of them were unable to have livestock and the primitive agricultural methods meant a low yield.¹⁵ The Soviets, after recovering Bessarabia, divided up the land and started to aid in the introduction of better agricultural technique.

The addition of Bessarabian territory to Moldavia, which was formerly an autonomous republic within the Ukrainian SSR, increased the area of Moldavia by nearly five times. The three million people of Bessarabia were primarily Moldavians, Ukrainians, and Russians, though there were many Jews living in the area. The acquisition of so much territory and population make it possible to raise Moldavia to the rank of union republic and in August, 1940, Moldavia became the thirteenth member of the USSR. Of the twenty-five representatives from Moldavia in the Soviet of Nationalities, seventeen are Moldavian, four Russian, three Ukrainian and one Gypsy.



Although this survey of the battle zone has taken up the seven border republics as national units, it would be misleading to consider their defense apart from that of the USSR as a whole. The soldiers, the generals, and the materiel come from all sections of the union and on the national defense preparedness of the country as a whole will depend the fate of the border republics. At the time of writing, Hitler's armies have crossed through much of Western Belorussia and Western Ukraine, as well as Lithuania and Latvia. The effectiveness of guerrilla action behind the panzer divisions will depend on the mobilization of the population in these areas in support of their new Soviet governments.

¹⁵ Varga, E., "The End of an Injustice," *Voks Bulletin*, Nov.-Dec., 1940, pp. 19-27.

BIOGRAPHIES OF MILITARY LEADERS *

MARSHAL KLIMENTI EFREMOVICH VOROSHILOV, *Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Chairman of its Council on Defense; Member of the new five-man Committee on State Defense; Commander-in-Chief of the Northwestern Front.*

Voroshilov was born in the village of Verkhnyi in the Ukraine, February 4, 1881. His father was a railroad watchman, his mother a charwoman. At the age of seven, he went to work as a miner-boy. Until he was 12, he could neither read nor write. At 15, he found employment at the Dyumov Metal Works in Lugansk, where he organized a revolutionary circle, and, in 1899, led the first strike of crane operators in the factory.

In 1903 he joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and was prominent in the Lugansk Bolshevik underground movement, a leader of Lugansk workers in the Revolution of 1905. He was imprisoned for his activities. As a delegate to the Social-Democratic Labor Party Congresses of 1906 and 1907, Voroshilov made the acquaintance of Lenin.

From 1907 to 1914, he was almost continuously in prison or in exile, devoting much time to study and to political work among the prisoners. In 1907, he did party work in Baku under Stalin.

During the World War of 1914-18, he supported Lenin's position. After the February Revolution of 1917, Voroshilov returned to Lugansk and helped the workers of the Ukraine prepare for the October Revolution. In December, 1917, he arrived in Petrograd and was appointed chairman of the Defense of Petrograd. Also, he took part with Dzerzhinsky in the organization and work of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation (Cheka).

In 1918, Voroshilov's military career was launched, as he organized the first Lugansk Socialist Partisan Detachment to fight German occupation of the Ukraine. He then united numerous Red Guard detachments into the Fifth Ukrainian Army which took thousands of workers and their families from the Donbass through a Cossack

* Future issues of Institute publications will carry biographies of other military leaders.

encirclement to Tsaritsyn. With Stalin, Voroshilov led the defense of Tsaritsyn. Subsequently, he held the posts of People's Commissar of Home Affairs of the Ukraine, Commander of the Kharkov Military District, and Commander of the Fourteenth Army. Then, as a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the First Cavalry Army, he took part in the rout of Wrangel, Denikin and Pilsudski. He also helped to crush the Grigorievsk and Kronstadt rebellions.

In 1921, Voroshilov became Commander of the North Caucasian Military District. From 1924 to 1925, he was Commander of the Moscow Military District, and in 1925, after Frunze's death, he was named People's Commissar of the Army and Navy. At the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan, he undertook the reorganization of the Soviet armed forces.

At the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1921, Voroshilov was elected a member of its Central Committee. Since 1926, he has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. He is a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Since 1940, he has been Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and Chairman of its Committee on Defense.

For his military and political services, Voroshilov has been awarded two Orders of Lenin, four Orders of the Red Banner, two Orders of the Red Banner on side-arms, and three Republican Orders of the Red Banner of Labor. He received the Order of Lenin again on his 60th birthday in 1941.

Voroshilov is a popular figure. Many organizations and buildings have been named for him, and the town of Lugansk has been renamed Voroshilovsk, and other cities and districts have been named in his honor.

MARSHAL SEMYON KONSTANTINOVICH TIMOSHENKO, *People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR; Commander-in-Chief of the Western Front.*

Timoshenko, the son of poor peasants, was born in 1895 in Furmanka, a Bessarabian village. After finishing the village school, instead of realizing his desires to continue his studies in the city, he went to work as a farmhand for a wealthy farmer.

In 1915, he was drafted into the Imperial Army where he was

trained as a machine-gunner and was sent to the Eastern Front with the Fourth Cavalry Division. At the front, he was courtmartialed for beating up an officer, but the revolution of 1917 freed him from a heavy sentence. The revolutionary movement was strong in the Fourth Cavalry Division, and during the October Revolution, it joined the Soviet forces to aid in the suppression of counter-revolutionary Don Cossacks.

Timoshenko began a notable and uninterrupted career with the Soviet Red Army in 1918 with the First Black Sea Partisan (guerrilla) Detachment. First a platoon commander, then squadron commander, and division commander in the cavalry, he fought against White Guards and interventionists between the years 1918 and 1921.

Between 1921 and 1930, Timoshenko took an active part in the peace-time development of the Red Army. At the same time, he completed studies in the Higher Military Academy (1922), courses for the Higher Command (1927) and for commander-commissars (1930). In 1925 he became Commander-Commissar of the Third Cavalry Corps, in 1935, Assistant Commander of the troops of the Byelorussian Military District. During that period he went abroad to make a study of foreign armies.

From September, 1935 to June, 1937, he was Assistant Commander of the Kiev Military District; from June to September, 1937, Commander of the North Caucasian Military Area; from September, 1937, to February, 1938, Commander and member of the Military Council of the Kharkov Military District; from February, 1938, to May, 1940, Commander and member of the Military Council of the Kiev Special Military District. He is a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Timoshenko headed the march of the Red Army into the Western Ukraine in September, 1939, covering as many as 69 miles a day over difficult terrain.

In 1940, when Bessarabia was again joined with the Soviet Union, Timoshenko returned to Furmanka for the first time in 22 years.

Perhaps Timoshenko's outstanding military achievement was his leadership of the Red Army during the Soviet-Finnish conflict, from

January, 1940 until it broke through the Mannerheim Line. Timoshenko built a replica of the Mannerheim Line just behind the Soviet lines, and had his troops rehearse every operation of the breakthrough in advance.

He has been decorated many times. For meritorious service in the Civil War, he received three Orders of the Red Banner and a sword of honor; for strengthening the Red Army in time of peaceful construction, the Order of Lenin; for distinguished service and heroism against the Finnish White Guards, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet awarded him the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and the Gold Star Medal.

In the recent re-training of the Red Army on the basis of the experience of the wars of the last two years, Timoshenko has laid primary emphasis on the training of small groups, combat team, platoon, company and regiment, and has personally spent much time in the field during maneuvers, to observe these groupings in action.

Timoshenko has been a member of the Communist Party since 1919, and was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the 18th Congress in 1939.

MARSHAL SEMYON MIKHAILOVICH BUDYENNY, *First Vice-Commissar of Defense of the USSR, Commander-in-Chief of the South-western Front.*

Budyenny, the son of non-Cossack parents in a Cossack district, was born April 25, 1883, in the settlement of Koziurin, in the Salsk District of the Don Oblast. His family were poor peasants, and from the age of nine he worked as a farmer laborer until he was drafted into the army in 1903. He taught himself how to read before he joined the army, where he served in the cavalry.

He became active in revolutionary work after the February Revolution of 1917, when he was elected successively a member of the squadron Soldiers' Committee, chairman of his Regimental Committee. He was in Minsk at the time of the October Revolution, in close contact with the Bolsheviks, and took part in the revolution. He then returned to his native village where he helped with the formation of socialist partisans (guerrilla troops). He began organizing the first cavalry groups of the Red Army. His first group consisted of six men, two of whom were his brothers. This grew to 100

in the first attack against counter-revolutionaries in August, 1918, then to the size of a regiment, then to a division. The formation of cavalry corps was opposed by certain political figures and military specialists on the grounds that cavalry was "outdated" and "of no military importance." Budyenny disproved this theory in practice.

In the second half of 1918, this cavalry division, later a corps in the 10th Army, not only beat back the attacks of Whites against Tsaritsyn, whose defense was in the hands of Stalin and Voroshilov, but won a series of victories over Krasnov's infantry and cavalry.

Budyenny's Cavalry Corps, at the end of 1919, was thrown against Denikin on the southern front, and took part in Stalin's plan for defeat of Denikin. Below Voronezh, Budyenny defeated the White Corps of Momontov and Shkuro. This was the beginning of the end for Denikin.

As a result, Stalin proposed the transformation of Budyenny's corps into the Mounted Army. In November, 1919, the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Republic ordered this to be done. Budyenny was given command of the First Cavalry Army, Voroshilov and Shchadenko were made members of the Army's Revolutionary Military Committee, and Timoshenko, Gorodovikov, Kulik and Tiulenov were among its commanders. One of the most important tasks was the education of the fighters, raising their political and military consciousness. This work was assigned to Voroshilov.

The First Cavalry Army then went to the shores of the Azov Sea, smashing Denikin's bands encountered on the way. On January 6, 1920, Taganrog was taken from the Whites in a fierce attack. On January 8, Rostov was taken, and by the end of March the Northern Caucasus was cleared of White Guards.

In May, 1920, when the Poles attacked, the First Cavalry Army was thrown on the Polish front. From there, it went to the Crimea where it took part in the defeat of Wrangel.

In 1920, Budyenny was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR, and of the USSR in 1922. He had his first formal education when he went to the Moscow Military Academy at the age of 46, graduating with honors in 1932, at the age of 50. He has been a Marshal of the Soviet Union since 1935. From 1937 to August, 1940, he was Commander of the Moscow Military Dis-

trict, and in August, 1940, he became First Vice-Commisar of Defense.

Budyenny joined the Communist Party in 1919, and since 1939 has been a member of the Central Committee.

THE SOVIET HIGH COMMAND

Marshal Klimenti Efremovich Voroshilov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Chairman of its Committee on Defense. Commander-in-Chief of the Northwestern Front.

Marshal Semyon Konstantinovich Timoshenko, People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR. Commander-in-Chief of the Western Front.

Marshal Grigori Ivanovich Kulik, Vice-Commisar of Defense of the USSR.

Marshal Boris Mikhailovich Shaposhnikov, Vice-Commisar of Defense of the USSR.

Marshal Semyon Mikhailovich Budyenny, Vice-Commisar of Defense of the USSR. Commander-in-Chief of the Southwestern Front.

Army-General Georgi Konstantinovich Zhukov, Vice-Commisar of Defense of the USSR, Chief of Staff.

Army-General Iosif Rodionovich Apanasenko, Commander of the Far Eastern Front.

Army-General Dmitri Grigorevich Pavlov, Commander of the Special Western Military District.

Army-General Kirill Afanasevich Meretskov, Vice-Commisar of Defense, in charge of Military Training.

Army-General Ivan Vladimirovich Tiulenev, Commander of the Moscow Military District.

Col. General Aleksandr Dmitrevich Loktionov, Vice-Commisar of Defense of the USSR.

Col. General Oka Ivanovich Gorodovikov, Chief Inspector of the Cavalry.

Col. General Grigori Mikhailovich Stern.

Col. General of Artillery Nikolai Nikolaevich Voronov.

Col. General of Artillery Vsevolod Fedorovich Yakovlev.

Col. General Mikhail Petrovich Kirponos, Commander of the Kiev Military District.

Col. General Fedor Isidorovich Kuznetsov, Commander of the Baltic Military District.

Col. General Yakov Timofeevich Cherevichenko, Commander of the Odessa Military District.

Lieut.-General of Aviation Yakov Vladimirovich Smushkevich, Commander of the Military Air Force.

Lieut. General Markian Mikhailovich Popov, Commander of the Leningrad Military District.

Lieut.-Gen. Andrei Kirillovich Smirnov, Commander of Kharkov Military District.

Lieut. General Dmitri Timofeevich Kozlov, Commander of the Trans-caucasian Military Area.

Lieut.-General Ivan Stepanovich Konev, Commander of the Second Far Eastern Army.

Aleksandr Ivanovich Zaporozhets, Chief of the Political Administration of the Red Army, Army Commissar, 1st Rank.

Major General of Aviation Pavel Prokofevich Kobelev. Pres. of Central Council of Osoaviakhim.

Admiral Nikolai Gerasimovich Kuznetsov, Commissar of the Navy.

Admiral Ivan Stepanovich Isakov, Naval Chief of Staff, Vice-Commissar of the Navy.

Admiral Lev Mikhailovich Galler, Vice-Commissar of the Navy.

Vice-Admiral Vladimir Filippovich Tributs, Commander of the Baltic Fleet.

Vice-Admiral Gordei Ivanovich Levchenko, Vice-Commissar of the Navy.

Vice-Admiral Ivan Stepanovich Yumashev, Commander of the Pacific Fleet.

Vice-Admiral Alexandr Karlovich Vekman.

Vice Admiral Leonid Georgevich Goncharov.

Vice-Admiral Sergei Petrovich Stavitskii.

Vice-Admiral Georgii Andreevich Stepanov.

Vice-Admiral Alexandr Viktorovich Shtal.

Rear-Admiral Filipp Sergeevich Oktiabrsky, Commander of the Black Sea Fleet.

Rear-Admiral Arseny Grigorevich Golovko, Commander of the Northern Fleet.

DOCUMENTS



MOLOTOV'S SPEECH

(Broadcast, June 22, 1941)

Citizens of the Soviet Union:

The Soviet Government and its head, Comrade Stalin, have authorized me to make the following statement:

Today at 4 o'clock a.m., without any claims having been presented to the Soviet Union, without a declaration of war, German troops attacked our country, attacked our borders at many points and bombed from their airplanes our cities Zhitomir, Kiev, Sevastopol, Kaunas and some others, killing and wounding over 200 persons.

There were also enemy air raids and artillery shelling from Rumanian and Finnish territory.

This unheard of attack upon our country is perfidy unparalleled in the history of civilized nations. The attack on our country was perpetrated despite the fact that a treaty of non-aggression had been signed between the USSR and Germany and that the Soviet Government most faithfully abided by all provisions of this treaty.

The attack upon our country was perpetrated despite the fact that during the entire period of operation of this treaty the German Government could not find grounds for a single complaint against the USSR as regards observance of this treaty.

Entire responsibility for this predatory attack upon the Soviet Union falls fully and completely upon the German Fascist rulers.

At 5:30 a.m.—that is, after the attack had already been perpetrated, Von der Schulenburg, the German Ambassador in Moscow, on behalf of his government made the statement to me as People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the effect that the German Government had decided to launch war against the USSR in connection with the concentration of Red Army units near the eastern German frontier.

In reply to this I stated on behalf of the Soviet Government that, until the very last moment, the German Government had not presented any claims to the Soviet Government, that Germany attacked the USSR despite the peaceable position of the Soviet Union, and that for this reason Fascist Germany is the aggressor.

On instruction of the government of the Soviet Union I also stated that at no point had our troops or our air force committed a violation of the frontier and therefore the statement made this morning by the

Rumanian radio to the effect that Soviet aircraft allegedly had fired on Rumanian airdromes is a sheer lie and provocation.

Likewise a lie and provocation is the whole declaration made today by Hitler, who is trying belatedly to concoct accusations charging the Soviet Union with failure to observe the Soviet-German pact.

Now that the attack on the Soviet Union has already been committed, the Soviet Government has ordered our troops to repulse the predatory assault and to drive German troops from the territory of our country.

This war has been forced upon us, not by the German people, not by German workers, peasants and intellectuals, whose sufferings we well understand, but by the clique of bloodthirsty Fascist rulers of Germany who have enslaved Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles, Serbians, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece and other nations.

The government of the Soviet Union expresses its unshakable confidence that our valiant army and navy and brave falcons of the Soviet Air Force will acquit themselves with honor in performing their duty to the fatherland and to the Soviet people, and will inflict a crushing blow upon the aggressor.

This is not the first time that our people have had to deal with an attack of an arrogant foe. At the time of Napoleon's invasion of Russia our people's reply was war for the fatherland, and Napoleon suffered defeat and met his doom.

It will be the same with Hitler, who in his arrogance has proclaimed a new crusade against our country. The Red Army and our whole people will again wage victorious war for the fatherland, for our country, for honor, for liberty.

The government of the Soviet Union expresses the firm conviction that the whole population of our country, all workers, peasants and intellectuals, men and women, will conscientiously perform their duties and do their work. Our entire people must now stand solid and united as never before.

Each one of us must demand of himself and of others discipline, organization and self-denial worthy of real Soviet patriots, in order to provide for all the needs of the Red Army, Navy and Air Force, to insure victory over the enemy.

The government calls upon you, citizens of the Soviet Union, to rally still more closely around our glorious Bolshevik party, around our Soviet Government, around our great leader and comrade, Stalin. Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated. Victory will be ours.

[*The New York Times*, June 23, 1941]

CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

(The text of Prime Minister Winston Churchill's broadcast, June 22, pledging aid to Russia, as transcribed by the New York Herald Tribune.)

I have taken occasion to speak to you tonight because we have reached one of the climacterics of the war. In the first of these intense turning points, a year ago, France fell prostrate under the German hammer and we had to face the storm alone.

The second was when the Royal Air Force beat the Hun raiders out of the Channel and thus warded off the Nazi invasion of our island, while we were still ill-armed and ill-prepared.

The third turning point was when the President and Congress of the United States passed the lease-and-lend enactment, devoting nearly two thousand million sterling of the wealth of the New World to help us defend our liberties and their own.

Those were the three climacterics. The fourth is now upon us. At 4 o'clock this morning, Hitler attacked and invaded Russia. All his usual formalities were observed with scrupulous technic. A non-aggression treaty had been solemnly signed and was in force between the two countries. No complaint had been made by Germany of its non-fulfillment.

Under its cloak of forced confidence, the German armies drew up in immense strength along a line which stretched from the White Sea to the Black Sea, and their air fleets and armored divisions slowly and methodically took up their stations. Then suddenly, without declaration of war, without even an ultimatum, the German bombs rained down from the sky upon the Russian cities. The German troops violated the Russian frontiers, and an hour later the German Ambassador, who till the night before had lavished his assurances of friendship, almost of alliance, upon the Russians, called upon the Russian Foreign Minister to tell him that a state of war existed between Germany and Russia.

Thus is repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed compact and international faith which we had witnessed in Norway, in Denmark, in Holland, in Belgium, and which Hitler's accomplice and jackal, Mussolini, so faithfully imitated in the case of Greece.

All this was no surprise to me. In fact, I gave clear and precise warnings to Stalin of what was coming. I gave him warnings, as I have given warnings to others before. I can only hope that these warnings did not fall unheeded. All we know at present is that the Russian people

are defending their native soil and that their leaders have called upon them to resist to the utmost.

Hitler is a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder. Not content with having all Europe under his heel or else terrorized into various forms of abject submission, he must now carry his work of butchery and desolation among the vast multitudes of Russia and of Asia. The terrible military machine which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately, allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up, year by year, from almost nothing—this machine cannot stand idle lest it rust, or fall to pieces. It must be in continual motion, grinding up human lives and trampling down the homes and the rights of hundreds of millions of men.

Moreover, it must be fed, not only with flesh but with oil. So this bloodthirsty guttersnipe must launch his mechanized armies upon new fields of slaughter, pillage and devastation. Poor as are the Russian peasants, workmen and soldiers, he must steal from them their daily bread. He must devour their harvests. He must rob them of the oil which drives their plows, and thus produce a famine without example in human history, and even the carnage and ruin which his victory, should he gain it—he has not gained it yet—will bring upon the Russian people will itself be only a stepping-stone to the attempt to plunge the 400,000,000 or 500,000,000 who live in China and the 350, 000,000 who live in India into the bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the swastika flaunts itself.

It is not too much to say here this summer evening that the lives and the happiness of a thousand million additional human beings are now menaced with brutal Nazi violence. That is enough to make us hold our breath. But presently I shall show you something else that lies behind and something that touches very nearly the life of Britain and of the United States.

The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite and racial domination. It excels in all forms of human wickedness, in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression. No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have for the last twenty-five years. I will unsay no words that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding. The past with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies flashes away.

I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land guarding the fields which their fathers have tilled from time im-

memorial. I see them guarding their homes, where mothers and wives pray. Ah, yes, for there are times when all pray for the safety of their loved ones, for the return of the bread-winner, of the champion, of their protector. I see the 10,000 villages of Russia where the means of existence is wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where maidens laugh and children play. I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty, expert agents, fresh from the cowing and tying down of a dozen countries. I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts. I see the German bombers and fighters in the sky, still smarting from many a British whipping, and they are likely to find what they believe is an easier and safer prey.

And behind all this glare, behind all this swarm, I see that small group of villainous men who planned, organized and launched this cataract of horrors upon mankind. And then my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe, when they fought with so much valor and constancy and helped to gain a victory, from all share in which, alas, they were, through no fault of ours, utterly cut out.

I have lived through all this, and you will pardon me if I express my feelings at the stir of old memories.

But now I have to declare the decision of His Majesty's government and I feel sure it is a decision in which the great Dominions will in due course concur. But we must speak out now, at once, without a day's delay. I have to make the declaration. But can you doubt what our policy will be? We have but one aim, and one single irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime; from this nothing will turn us—nothing. We will never parley. We will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his men. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until, with God's help, we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its peoples from his yoke.

Any man or state who fights against Nazidom will have our aid. Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to organized states but to all representatives of that vile race of Quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow countrymen and against the lands of their birth. These Quislings, like the Nazi leaders themselves, if not disposed of by their

fellow countrymen, which would save trouble, will be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the justice of the allied tribunals.

That is our policy and that is our declaration. It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it as we shall, faithfully and steadfastly to the end.

We have offered to the government of Soviet Russia any technical or economic assistance which is in our power and which is likely to be of service to them. We shall bomb Germany by day as well as by night in ever-increasing measure, casting upon them month by month a heavier discharge of bombs and making the German people taste and gulp each month a sharper dose of the miseries they have showered upon mankind.

It is noteworthy that only yesterday the Royal Air Force striking inland over France, cut down, with very small loss to themselves, twenty-eight of the Hun fighting machines in the air above the French soil they had invaded, defiled and professed to hold. But this is only a beginning. From now henceforward the main expansion of our air force proceeds with gathering speed. In another six months, the weight of the help we are receiving from the United States in war materials of all kinds, especially in heavy bombers, will begin to tell.

This is no class war; this is a war in which the whole British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations is engaged without distinction of race, creed or party. It is not for me to speak of the action of the United States, but this I will say: If Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aims or slackening of effort in the great democracies who are resolved upon his doom, he is woefully mistaken. On the contrary, we shall be fortified and encouraged in our efforts to rescue mankind from his tyranny. We shall be strengthened and not weakened in our determination and in our resources.

This is no time to moralize upon the follies of countries and governments which have allowed themselves to be struck down one by one, when by united action they could so easily have saved themselves and saved the world from this catastrophe; but when I spoke a few minutes ago of Hitler's blood lust and the hateful appetites which have impelled or lured him on his Russian adventure, I said there was one deeper motive behind his outrage. He wishes to destroy the Russian power because he hopes that if he succeeds in this he will be able to bring back the main strength of his army and air force from the east and hurl it

upon this island, which he knows he must conquer or suffer the penalty of his crimes.

His invasion of Russia is no more than a prelude to an attempted invasion of the British Isles. He hopes no doubt that all this may be accomplished before the winter comes, and that he can overwhelm Great Britain before the fleets and air power of the United States will intervene; he hopes that he may once again repeat upon a greater scale than ever before that process of destroying his enemies one by one, by which he has so long thrived and prospered, and that then the scene will be clear for the final act without which all his conquests would be in vain: namely, the subjugation of the Western Hemisphere to his will and to his system.

The Russian danger is, therefore, our danger and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free people in every quarter of the globe. Let us learn the lessons already taught by such cruel experience. Let us redouble our exertions and strike with united strength while life and power remain.

[*The New York Times*, June 23, 1941]

STATEMENT OF U. S. UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE WELLES

If any further proof could conceivably be required of the real purposes and projects of the present leaders of Germany for world domination, it is now furnished by Hitler's treacherous attack upon Soviet Russia.

We see once more, beyond peradventure of doubt, with what intent the present Government of Germany negotiates "non-aggression pacts." To the leaders of the German Reich sworn engagements to refrain from hostile acts against other countries—engagements regarded in a happier and a civilized world as contracts to the faithful observance of which the honor of nations themselves was pledged—are but a symbol of deceit, and constitute a dire warning on the part of Germany of hostile and murderous intent.

To the present German Government the very meaning of the word "honor" is unknown.

This government often has stated and in many of his public statements the President has declared that the United States maintains that freedom to worship God as their consciences dictate is the great and fundamental right of all peoples. This right has been denied to their peoples by both the Nazi and the Soviet Governments.

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To the people of the United States this and other principles and doctrines of communistic dictatorship are as intolerable and as alien to their own beliefs as are the principles and doctrines of Nazi dictatorship. Neither kind of imposed overlordship can have, or will have, any support or any sway in the mode of life, or in the system of government, of the American people.

But the immediate issue that presents itself to the people of the United States is whether the plan for universal conquest, for the cruel and brutal enslavement of all peoples and for the ultimate destruction of the remaining free democracies which Hitler is now desperately trying to carry out, is to be successfully halted and defeated.

That is the present issue which faces a realistic America. It is the issue at this moment which most directly involves our own national defense and the security of the New World in which we live.

In the opinion of this government, consequently, any defense against Hitlerism, any rallying of the forces opposing Hitlerism, from whatever source these forces may spring, will hasten the eventual downfall of the present German leaders, and will therefore redound to the benefit of our own defense and security.

Hitler's armies are today the chief dangers of the Americas.

[*The New York Times*, June 24, 1941]

STALIN'S SPEECH (Broadcast, July 3, 1941)

Comrades! Citizens! Brothers and Sisters! Men of our Army and Navy!

I am addressing you, my friends!

The perfidious military attack on our fatherland, begun on June 22 by Hitler Germany, is continuing.

In spite of heroic resistance of the Red Army, and although the enemy's finest divisions and finest air force units have already been smashed and have met their doom on the field of battle, the enemy continues to push forward, hurling fresh forces into the attack.

Hitler's troops have succeeded in capturing Lithuania, a considerable part of Latvia, the western part of Byelo-Russia [White Russia] and a part of the Western Ukraine.

The Fascist air force is extending the range of operations of its

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bombers and is bombing Murmansk, Orsha, Mogilev, Smolensk, Kiev, Odessa and Sevastopol.

A grave danger hangs over our country.

How could it have happened that our glorious Red Army surrendered a number of our cities and districts to the Fascist armies?

Is it really true that German Fascist troops are invincible, as is ceaselessly trumpeted by boastful Fascist propagandists? Of course not!

History shows that there are no invincible armies, and never have been. Napoleon's army was considered invincible, but it was beaten successively by Russian, English and German Armies. Kaiser Wilhelm's German Army in the period of the first imperialist war was also considered invincible, but it was beaten several times by Russian and Anglo-French forces, and was finally smashed by Anglo-French forces.

The same must be said of Hitler's German Fascist Army today. This army has not yet met with serious resistance on the continent of Europe. Only on our territory has it met serious resistance, and if as a result of this resistance the finest divisions of Hitler's German Fascist Army have been defeated by our Red Army, it means that this army, too, can be smashed, and will be smashed as were the armies of Napoleon and Wilhelm.

As to part of our territory having nevertheless been seized by German Fascist troops, this is chiefly due to the fact that the war of Fascist Germany on the U.S.S.R. began under conditions favorable for German forces and unfavorable for Soviet forces.

The fact of the matter is that troops of Germany, as a country at war, were already fully mobilized, and 170 divisions hurled by Germany against the U.S.S.R. and brought up to the Soviet frontiers were in a state of complete readiness, only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas Soviet troops had still to effect mobilization and move up to the frontiers.

Of no little importance in this respect is the fact that Fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the non-aggression pact she concluded in 1939 with the U.S.S.R., disregarding the fact that she would be regarded as an aggressor by the whole world.

Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative of breaking the pact, could not resort to perfidy.

It may be asked: How could the Soviet Government have consented to conclude a non-aggression pact with such treacherous fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop? Was this not an error on the part of the Soviet Government? Of course not!

Non-aggression pacts are pacts of peace between two states. It was such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939. Could the Soviet Government have declined such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighboring state even though the latter was headed by such fiends and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop.

But that, of course, only on one indispensable condition—namely, that this peace treaty does not infringe either directly or indirectly on the territorial integrity, independence and honor of the peace-loving state.

As is well known, the non-aggression pact between Germany and the U.S.S.R. is precisely such a pact.

What did we gain by concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany? We secured for our country peace for a year and a half and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse Fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact.

This was a definite advantage for us and a disadvantage for Fascist Germany.

What has Fascist Germany gained and what has she lost by treacherously tearing up the pact and attacking the U.S.S.R.?

She gained a certain advantageous position for her troops for a short period, but she has lost politically by exposing herself in the eyes of the entire world as a bloodthirsty aggressor.

There can be no doubt that this short-lived military gain for Germany is only an episode, while the tremendous political gain of the U.S.S.R. is a serious and lasting factor that is bound to form the basis for development of decisive military successes of the Red Army in the war with Fascist Germany.

That is why our whole valiant Red Army, our whole valiant navy, all our falcons of the air, all peoples of our country, all the finest men and women of Europe, America and Asia, and, finally,

all the finest men and women of Germany, condemn the treacherous acts of the German Fascists and sympathize with the Soviet Government, approve the conduct of the Soviet Government and see that ours is a just cause, that the enemy will be defeated, that we are bound to win.

By virtue of this war which has been forced upon us our country has come to death grips with its most malicious and most perfidious enemy—German Fascism.

Our troops are fighting heroically against an enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and aircraft. Overcoming innumerable difficulties the Red Army and Navy are self-sacrificingly disputing every inch of Soviet soil.

The main forces of the Red Army are coming into action armed with thousands of tanks and airplanes. Men of the Red Army are displaying unexampled valor. Our resistance to the enemy is growing in strength and power. Side by side with the Red Army the entire Soviet people is rising in defense of our native land.

What is required to put an end to the danger hovering over our country, and what measures must be taken to smash the enemy?

Above all, it is essential that our people, the Soviet people, should understand the full immensity of the danger that threatens our country and abandon all complacency, all heedlessness, all those moods of peaceful, constructive work which were so natural before the war but which are fatal today when war has fundamentally changed everything.

The enemy is cruel and implacable. He is out to seize our lands watered with our sweat, to seize our grain and oil secured by our labor.

He is out to restore the rule of landlords, to restore Czarism, to destroy the national culture and national state existence of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Tartars, Uzbeks, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidzhanians, and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to convert them into slaves of German princes and barons.

Thus the issue is one of life or death of the Soviet State, for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. the issue is whether peoples of the Soviet Union shall remain free or fall into slavery.

The Soviet people must realize this and abandon all heedlessness, they must mobilize themselves and reorganize all their work on new, wartime lines, when there can be no mercy to the enemy.

Further, there must be no room in our ranks for whimperers and cowards, for panic-mongers and deserters; our people must know no fear in the fight and must selflessly join our patriotic war of liberation, our war against the Fascist enslavers.

Lenin, the great founder of our state, used to say that the chief virtue of the Soviet people must be courage, valor, fearlessness in struggle, readiness to fight together with the people against the enemies of our country.

The splendid virtue of the Bolshevik must become the virtue of millions and millions of the Red Army, of the Red Navy, of all peoples of the Soviet Union.

All our work must be immediately reconstructed on a war footing, everything must be subordinated to the interests of the front and the task of organizing demolition of the enemy.

The peoples of the Soviet Union now see that there is no taming of German Fascism in its savage fury and hatred of our country which has insured all working people labor, freedom and prosperity.

The peoples of the Soviet Union must rise against the enemy and defend their rights and their land. The Red Army, Red Navy and all citizens of the Soviet Union must defend every inch of Soviet soil, must fight to the last drop of blood for our towns and villages, must display the daring initiative and intelligence that are inherent in our people.

We must organize all-round assistance to the Red Army, insure powerful reinforcements for its ranks and supply of everything it requires, we must organize rapid transport of troops and military freight and extensive aid to the wounded.

We must strengthen the Red Army's rear, subordinating all our work to this cause, all our industries must be put to work with greater intensity to produce more rifles, machine guns, artillery, bullets, shells, airplanes; we must organize the guarding of factories, power stations, telephonic and telegraphic communications, and arrange effective air raid protection in all localities.

We must wage a ruthless fight against all disorganizers of the

rear, deserters, panic-mongers, rumor-mongers, exterminate spies, diversionists, enemy parachutists, rendering rapid aid in all this to our destroyer battalions. We must bear in mind that the enemy is crafty, unscrupulous, experienced in deception and dissemination of false rumors.

We must reckon with all this and not fall victim to provocation. All who by their panic-mongering and cowardice hinder the work of defense, no matter who they are, must be immediately haled before a military tribunal.

In case of a forced retreat of Red Army units, all rolling stock must be evacuated; to the enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway car, not a single pound of grain or a gallon of fuel.

Collective farmers must drive off all their cattle and turn over their grain to the safekeeping of state authorities for transportation to the rear. All valuable property including non-ferrous metals, grain and fuel which cannot be withdrawn must without fail be destroyed.

In areas occupied by the enemy, guerrilla units, mounted and foot, must be formed, diversionist groups must be organized to combat enemy troops, to foment guerrilla warfare everywhere, to blow up bridges, roads, damage telephone and telegraph lines and to set fire to forests, stores and transports.

In occupied regions conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be hounded and annihilated at every step and all their measures frustrated.

This war with Fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German Fascist forces.

The aim of this people's war in defense of our country against the Fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German Fascism.

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone.

In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including German people who are enslaved by Hitlerite despots.

Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the

struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's Fascist armies.

In this connection the historic utterance of British Prime Minister Churchill regarding aid to the Soviet Union and the declaration of the U. S. Government signifying readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and symptomatic.

Comrades, our forces are numberless. The overweening enemy will soon learn this to his cost. Side by side with the Red Army and Navy thousands of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are rising to fight the enemy aggressor. Masses of our people will rise up in their millions. The working people of Moscow and Leningrad already have commenced to form vast popular levies in support of the Red Army.

Such popular levies must be raised in every city which is in danger of an enemy invasion, all working people must be roused to defend our freedom, our honor, our country—in our patriotic war against German Fascism.

In order to insure a rapid mobilization of all forces of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and to repulse the enemy who treacherously attacked our country, a State Committee of Defense has been formed in whose hands the entire power of the State has been vested.

The State Committee of Defense has entered into its functions and calls upon all our people to rally around the Party of Lenin-Stalin and around the Soviet Government so as self-denyingly to support the Red Army and Navy, demolish the enemy and secure victory.

All our forces for the support of our heroic Red Army and our glorious Red Navy!

All the forces of the people—for the demolition of the enemy!
Forward, to our victory!

NEWS CHRONOLOGY

May 15 — July 1, 1941

Newspapers are named primarily for convenient reference, although the same items may appear in other newspapers. The date given is the date on which the event occurred, while the number in parenthesis following the name of the newspaper indicates the date of the paper in which the report appeared. The source in brackets gives a full English text.

(N.Y.T.—New York Times; N.Y.H.T.—New York Herald Tribune; D.W.—Daily Worker.)

* The texts of decrees, treaties, etc., referred to in the items marked with an asterisk are available in full at the office of the American Russian Institute.



INTERNAL AFFAIRS

DEFENSE

May

17—The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs issues regulations restricting the travel of foreign diplomats in border zones and certain key cities.—N.Y.H.T. (18)

17—250,000 civilians took part in the tactical defense exercises held in the past few days in 28 districts of the Moscow region. The specific object was defense against air raids and parachute troops.—D.W. (18)

June

10—It is reported from Moscow that the Soviets have launched a new large naval vessel.—N.Y.T. (11)

27—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued regulations stating that 100 to 200 rubles monthly allowance will be paid to the families of the Red Army rank and file and junior (non-commissioned) commanding personnel in wartime. There will be a 50 per cent reduction of this amount for rural localities.—D.W. (28)

28—Notices have been posted in Moscow calling in all radio, victrola and television sets for storage for the duration of the war.—N.Y.T. (29)

29—In a manifesto addressed to the entire world, internationally famous Soviet scientists and academicians (Kapitsa, Alexei Tolstoy, Sholokhov, etc.) urge support of the USSR in its war with Hitlerism.—D.W. (30)

29—Acting Patriarch Sergei, Primate of the All-Russian Orthodox Church and Metropolitan of Moscow, voices the Church's decision to enlist its entire resources on behalf of the nation's war effort.—N.Y.T. (30)

U.P. reports his showing a cable from the metropolitan Benjamin of Brooklyn, New York, primate of the Russian Church in the United States, expressing on behalf of the American Orthodox their hope and prayer for a Russian victory.—D.W. (30)

30—*Pravda* pays tribute to Soviet women who form colossal labor reserves and who, the newspaper declares in its editorial, ensure the winning of the war by "efficient and uninterrupted work in the rear." Thirty million women are working behind Soviet Russian lines to bolster the Soviet war effort against Germany, *Pravda* states: 19,000,000 working on farms and 11,000,000 in factories and

offices with thousands of women at the front doing medical work.—*D.W.* (30)

- 30—The Leningrad Soviet has decreed labor conscription of all able-bodied citizens for defense construction work.—*N.Y.H.T.* (July 1)

July

- 1—In connection with the present situation, and in order to accelerate mobilization of the people of Soviet Russia and organize resistance to the enemy, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament), the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars have decided, first, to form a committee for state defense with Stalin as Chairman, Molotov as vice-chairman and Voroshilov, Malenkov and Beria as members; second, to concentrate all power in the committee; third, all citizens, party organizations and communal institutions will have to carry out the orders of the committee in full obedience. *N.Y.T.* (1)

ECONOMIC LIFE

May

- 14—Moscow reports that the winter grain crop in the Ukraine, Crimea, and the Caucasus is excellent.—*D.W.* (15)
- 17—A 15-year plan to drain and cultivate 10 million acres of swamp land in Belorussia is announced by the Soviet Government. Fifty per cent of the cost will be borne by the Central Government.—*N.Y.H.T.* (18)
- 25—The All-Union Agricultural Exposition is opened for the third year.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 27—Professor A. Kirhensteins, President of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, speaking at a press conference, said that landless peasants and farm laborers have received a

total of 2,373,000 acres of land. State credits, totaling 25 million rubles, for the purchase of fertilizers and livestock has been granted to the peasants. The government also granted 143 million rubles for the medical needs of the population.—*D.W.* (28)

June

- 2—The Soviet government issued a 20-year, 4 per cent state loan of 9,500,000,000 rubles which may be acquired on a ten months' installment basis. This sum is to be raised by voluntary subscription of city workers and collective farmers, and is to be used for economic and cultural construction in the localities where the subscribers reside.—*D.W.* (3)
- 4—The ferrous metallurgy, iron ore, and coal mining industries have overfulfilled the first five months plan for the year.—*D.W.* (5)
- 6—194,327,250 acres of land or 84 per cent of the total grain sowing plan had been completed ahead of plan by the beginning of June. Warm weather facilitated early ripening of the grain in many parts of the USSR and harvesting will begin earlier than in past years.—*D.W.* (7)
- 6—The National Geographic Society cites the steadily increasing production of iron, coal, manganese, aluminum and chromium of the USSR in a special bulletin issued this week.—*D.W.* (7)
- 8—Alexander Yefremov is appointed to head the new Commissariat of the Machine-Tool Building Industry of the USSR.—*D.W.* (9)
- 9—A 200 per cent increase in industrial production, employing the resources of twice the number of workers ever before gainfully employed, is reported by M. Gedvilas, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.—*D.W.* (10)

12—Ivan Papanin, Chief of the Northern Sea Route Administration, told a press conference that preparations for the 1941 navigation season on the Northern Sea Route in the Soviet Arctic are nearing completion.—*D.W.* (13)

15—Academician Trofim Lysenko, speaking at an agriculture conference in Kiev, stated that the Ukrainian Republic will have an unprecedented beet crop this year.—*D.W.* (16)

24—An announcement was published by the Moscow Soviet to the effect that food supplies were abundant.—*D.W.* (25)

27—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree granting the right to directors of Soviet industry to establish obligatory overtime work from one to three hours daily. All workers and office employees are included with the exception of expectant and nursing mothers. Maternity leave is to be granted in accordance with existing law. All vacation leaves are cancelled and workers will receive financial compensation instead, in addition to time and one-half for overtime work. Persons under 16 years of age may not be permitted to work more than two hours overtime. [Minors from 14-16 are allowed to work a standard day of four hours with special permission.—*Ed.*]—*D.W.* (28)

30—Soviet sources report winter grains to be good in most regions and excellent in some.—*N.Y.T.* (July 1)

30—The United States Department of Agriculture reports that unfavorable weather conditions had delayed spring sowing in the Soviet Union two to three weeks behind last year's sowing.—*N.Y.H.T.* (July 1)

MISCELLANEOUS

May

14—I. Cherevichny and his party returned to Moscow after two months and six days of exploration in the Soviet Arctic.—*D.W.* (15)

17—250,000 students are graduated from the new technical training schools in June, 1941.—*D.W.* (18)

24—The People's Commissariat of Education spent nearly 4,000,000 rubles on public education in the city of Vilno in the first quarter of 1941.—*D.W.* (25)

June

2—Tadzhikistan theatre artists gather in Moscow for the ten-day festival of Tadzhik art.—*D.W.* (2)

20—Soviet scientists reported the opening in Samarkand of the tomb of Tamerlane, 15th Century Mongol conqueror.—*D.W.* (21)

26—A resolution to resume diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and to advance the Soviet Union credits to acquire Uruguayan products was before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies of Uruguay today.—*D.W.* (27)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST

May

15—Foreign Minister Eden reports that Vichy is permitting the Germans to use air bases in Syria.—*N.Y.H.T.* (16)

17—It is announced that the USSR and Iraq on May 17 signed an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic, consular and commercial relations.—*N.Y.H.T.* (18)

17—*TASS* issues a denial that the USSR was permitting the recruiting of volunteer pilots in the USSR to fight with the Iraq army.—*N.Y.H.T.* (17)

21—Denmark and the USSR sign a new

barter agreement for the exchange of products valued at 28,000,000 kroner each way. The Soviets will send cotton, oil products, tobacco, fodder, timber, etc., in exchange for machinery, cement and diesel motors.—*TASS* (21)

June

- 1—Stalin receives Paasikivi, retiring Finnish envoy to Moscow.—*N.Y.H.T.* (2)
- 2—The USSR and Sweden sign an agreement settling Sweden's financial claims against the Baltic states when they became part of the USSR.—*D.W.* (3)
- 2—Julian Simkko, new Slovak Minister, arrived in Moscow today to replace Frank Tisso.—*D.W.* (3)
- 3—The Finnish Supply Minister reports that the food shortage in Finland is due both to the German blockade and to failure to receive grain shipments from the USSR.—*N.Y.T.* (4)
- 4—The USSR withdraws diplomatic recognition from the Greek Envoy in Moscow.—*N.Y.T.* (4)
- 6—Sir Stafford Cripps, British Ambassador to Moscow, is to return to London for consultation.—*N.Y.H.T.* (7)
- 6—It is announced from London that agreement has been reached for the repatriation of 350 Baltic seamen, stranded in England. The British government will not agree to the release of ships.—*N.Y.H.T.* (7)
- 8—Soviet Government ships 20,000 tons of grain to Finland above the earlier 15,578 tons previously delivered, because of the Finnish food shortage.—*D.W.* (9)
- 12—Sir Stafford Cripps arrives in London for consultation with the British Government.—*N.Y.T.* (13)
- 18—It is reported from Budapest that 13 thousand Magyars have been repat-

riated from Northern Bukovina.—*N.Y.T.* (19)

- 23—Ivan M. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, informed the British Government today that Josef V. Stalin, in accepting the offer of British help against the Germans, has made a counter offer of military and economic assistance to this country and was ready to receive the British mission at the earliest possible moment.—*N.Y.H.T.* (24)
- 28—Finnish Government publishes a white paper citing violations by the Soviet Government as justification for declaration of war.—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 29—The British Ambassador to Moscow, together with the head of the British Economic Mission, conferred for the second time since their arrival two days before, with Foreign Trade Commissar Mikoyan. The British Military Mission conferred with Soviet Chief of Staff Zhukov.—*N.Y.T.* (30)
- 29—Pope Pius XII in a radio address today gave no word of encouragement to the Axis despite heavy political pressure from its members, particularly in Spain.—*N.Y.T.* (30)
- 29—London reports that the stock markets have taken a decidedly strong line since German invasion of Russia, whereas previous extensions of hostilities always resulted in further stagnation of the markets.—*N.Y.T.* (30)
- 30—The Associated Press reports that an authoritative source in London has stated that Great Britain considers Russia an "associated power" rather than an ally in their common war against Germany.—*N.Y.H.T.* (July 1)
- 30—The Vichy government breaks off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and blocks all holds in France,

direct or indirect, of persons of Russian nationality.—*N.Y.T.* (July 1)

SOVIET-GERMAN RELATIONS

May

21—It is reported from Istanbul that large German army concentrations are being formed along the Soviet border.—*N.Y.T.* (21)

21—The Finnish Legation in Washington issues a denial of reports that five German divisions are stationed in Finland.—*N.Y.T.* (22)

24—Berlin denies that arrangements have been made for transit of military materials, etc., through the USSR and Iran for use against the British in the Middle East.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)

25—*Pravda* declares that the report that the USSR would lease the Ukraine to Germany is "political nonsense and an idiotic lie."—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)

June

1—The Soviet press reports border violations in the region of Lvov.—*N.Y.H.T.* (2)

5—It is reported from Ankara that Germany, with the aid of Rumania, is planning to invade the Ukraine.—*N.Y.H.T.* (6)

6—Antonescu denies rumors that Rumania is going to war during the next few days.—*N.Y.T.* (7)

11—Ambassador Maisky assures the British Government that the Soviet Union is not entering any new military, political or economic agreement with Germany.—*N.Y.T.* (12)

13—In regard to the many rumors of German troop movements from the Balkans to her eastern and northeastern frontiers, *TASS*, official Soviet news agency, is authorized to declare that: 1. Germany did not present any claims to the USSR and does not propose any new, clear agreement in

view of which no negotiations on this subject could have taken place.

2. According to information at the disposal of the USSR, Germany abides by the provisions of the Soviet-German Pact of Non-Aggression as unswervingly as the Soviet Union, in view of which in the opinion of Soviet quarters the rumors of Germany's intention to disrupt the pact and undertake an attack on the USSR are devoid of any ground, whereas the dispatching of German troops, relieved from operations in the Balkans to the Eastern and northeastern district of Germany which is now taking place, is connected, it should be assumed, with other motives having no bearing on Soviet-German relations.

3. The USSR, as follows from its policy of peace, abided and intends to abide by the provisions of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, in view of which, rumors to the effect that the USSR is preparing for war with Germany are false and provocative.

4. Summer camp drills of Red Army reservists being held at present and forthcoming maneuvers have no other purpose than the training of reservists and the checking of work of railroad organization, carried out, as it is known, every year. In view of which to present these measures of the Red Army as being inimical to Germany is, to say the least, absurd."—*D.W.* (14)

14—It is reported in London that there has been general mobilization in Rumania.—*N.Y.H.T.* (15)

17—It is reported from London that the British had stopped giving navicerts for ships going to Petsamo.—*N.Y.T.* (18)

17—It is reported from Finland that

- Soviet troops are being removed from Hango.—*N.Y.T.* (18)
- 18—Turkey and Germany sign a ten-year non-aggression pact. At the same time an exchange of notes expresses the mutual desire to improve economic relations.—*N.Y.T.* (19)
- 19—Finland calls up all reserve officers.—*N.Y.H.T.* (20)
- 19—It is rumored in Turkey that Germany and Rumania have presented ultimata to the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.H.T.* (19)
- 21—Goebbels reads a statement by Hitler, charging the Soviets with bad faith in observing the Soviet-German non-aggression pact and calling upon the German army to stand as a bulwark against Bolshevism. Ribbentrop then announces that "military measures of defense" have been taken against the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.T.* (22)
- 21—Rumania also declares war on the Soviet Union to regain Bessarabia.—*N.Y.T.* (22)
- 22—Martial law is proclaimed in all districts lying west of approximately the 42nd parallel and mobilization of the classes 1905-1918 in all military districts except Central Asia and the districts east of Lake Baikal.—*N.Y.H.T.* (23)
- 22—Prime Minister Churchill offers aid to the Soviet Union in a radio speech.—*N.Y.H.T.* (23) (For text see p.)
- 22—Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Constantin A. Oumansky, issued a statement today that though Nazi Germany struck suddenly, the USSR was prepared to defend itself and that Hitler's attack would be crushed.—*D.W.* (23)
- 22—Stockholm reports a revolt against Soviet authority in Estonia.—*N.Y.T.* (23)
- 22—The Finnish Information Bureau denies that Finland is at war.—*N.Y.T.* (23)
- 22—Italy declares war on the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.T.* (23)
- 22—The Slovakian Government breaks relations with the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.T.* (3)
- 22—Rumania enters the war as a full ally of Germany against the USSR.—*N.Y.T.* (23)
- 23—Ambassador Winant and Foreign Minister Eden see Ambassador Maisky.—*N.Y.T.* (24)
- 23—Foreign Minister Ivan Popoff announced today that Bulgaria would represent German interests in Russia as requested by the German minister to Sofia.—*D.W.* (24)
- 24—Soviet Minister Orlov leaves Helsinki.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 24—Slovakia is reported from Germany to be at war with the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 24—Hungary breaks relations with the Soviet Union, but states that it is planning no further diplomatic or military action.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 24—The Vichy government and the Spanish government are reported to back Germany's war on the USSR.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 24—Foreign Minister Eden announces in the House of Commons that the Soviet Union has accepted Great Britain's offer to send military and economic missions to the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 25—Sweden declares its neutrality and permits the passage of German troops from Norway to Finland.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 25—It is reported that Hitler has gone to the Eastern front.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 25—It is announced from Moscow that Turkey has informed the USSR that it will remain neutral.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)

- 26—Rome announces the sending of an army corps to the Russian front.—*N.Y.Sun* (26)
- 26—The Jewish Telegraph Agency reports the Soviet evacuation of Jews living in the Western Ukraine and Belorussia along with the rest of the population in the war zones.—*D.W.* (26)
- 27—Hungary enters the war against the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.H.T.* (28)
- 27—Sir Stafford Cripps arrives back in Moscow from London accompanied by military, naval and air officials. He has a conference with Molotov immediately on his arrival.—*N.Y.H.T.* (28)
- 27—Great Britain protests to Sweden on its announced decision to permit the passage of troops through its territory from Norway to Finland.—*N.Y.Sun* (27)
- 27—Denmark breaks relations with the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.Sun* (27)
- 28—It is reported from Ankara that the British Ambassador has given assurances that British aid to the USSR does not imply support for any Soviet demands regarding the Straits.—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 28—Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs Lozovsky, speaking for the newly formed Soviet Information Bureau, denied the Nazi charges that the Soviet Union had sought control of the Dardanelles. He further reported a Soviet protest of April 18 to Germany for frontier violations by its planes. He told of innumerable German reconnaissance flights from April to June. He further added that the fact that the German press had not published the *TASS* statement of June 13 regarding German military movements "was a clear indication that Hitler did not mean and did not want to observe the pact."—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 28—The Turkish press considered Lozovsky's denial of Soviet desire for control of the Straits was tardy and recalled that in 1939 Moscow asked for somewhat the same arrangements with Turkey.—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 28—Lozovsky announces that German Ambassador von der Schulenburg and his staff are being held until arrangements are made for the evacuation of the Soviet colony from Germany.—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 29—Albania declares war on the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.T.* (29)

FAR EAST

May

- 20—Ratifications of the Soviet-Japanese pact are exchanged in Tokyo.—*N.Y.T.* (21)
- 28—The official Bangkok Gazette formally proclaimed establishment of Thailand-Soviet diplomatic and trade relations today. Relations have been in effect since March 12 but were announced only today.—*D.W.* (29)
- 30—As a result of the abrogation of the Treaty limiting the hunting for fur seals, Japan is making plans for such hunting in a wide area from Sakhalin to Alaska.—*N.Y.T.* (31)

June

- 3—It is reported from Tokyo that the Japanese are shipping 1500 tons of food daily to Germany across the USSR.—*N.Y.H.T.* (4)
- 12—The Soviet Union and Japan sign a commercial treaty to run for five years, establishing most-favored nation relations in regard to tariffs and other commercial procedures. At the same time a barter agreement is signed for the exchange of 60,000,000 yen of goods, including silk, machinery, camphor oil from Japan for manganese, fertilizer, platinum, petroleum products from the USSR.—*N.Y.T.* (13)

- 16—It is announced that the Soviet Union and Japan have agreed on the demarcation of the Mongol-Manchoukuo border in the vicinity of Nomonhan. The work is to begin June 27.—*N.Y.T.* (17)
- 24—A Japanese spokesman says that Japan will “remain faithful to her treaty obligations to both parties” of the Soviet-German war.—*N.Y.T.* (24)
- 24—The Japanese Foreign Office orders the evacuation of Japanese women and children from Moscow. No statement was made on the Soviet-German war at the close of a Cabinet meeting.—*N.Y.T.* (25)
- 26—It is reported in Tokyo that German Ambassador Ota suggested to Matsuo-ka that Japan act to neutralize the United States to prevent it from assisting the USSR.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 27—A Japanese Information Bureau spokesman declares that Japan would be put in an “awkard and embarrassing position” if the Unites States gives aid to the USSR.—*N.Y.Sun* (27)
- 28—Ambassador Tatekawa informs Molotov that Japan will take care of Italian interests in Moscow during the war, thus indicating continuing Japanese neutrality.—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 28—The new Foreign Minister of China, Quo, on his arrival in Chungking, states that the “Russo-German war has greatly clarified the whole international situation. China was in the vanguard in resisting aggression and it has always been our desire to work with our friends and with those who would make a similar stand.”—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 17—A cargo of wool and hides passing in transit through San Francisco to Vladivostok was detained under new regulations extending export license regulations to transit goods. Ambassador Oumansky protests the seizure.—*N.Y.H.T.* (18)
- 24—Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs Vyshinsky sees Ambassador Steinhardt.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 28—The United States export licensing system is extended to cover the Philippines.—*N.Y.H.T.* (29)

June

- 15—A resolution calling for severance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union was adopted at a Baltic Freedom Rally in New York.—*N.Y.T.* (16)
- 16—The United States orders the freezing of funds of all countries of Europe, including the USSR. Japan's funds are not included. It is provided that a general license can be issued for Russian funds, if the Soviet government gives assurances that they will not be used for anti-American propaganda.—*N.Y.H.T.* (17)
- 23—The Export-Import Bank stops the issue of credit to Finland.—*N.Y.H.T.* (24)
- 23—Under Secretary of State Welles issues a state on behalf of President Roosevelt that any opposition to Germany will hasten its downfall.—*N.Y.T.* (24) For text, see p. 64.)
- 24—At a press interview, President Roosevelt says that the United States will of course aid the USSR insofar as it is possible.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 24—The Treasury Department issued a general license releasing \$39,000,000 in Soviet funds which had been frozen under the executive order of June 14.—*N.Y.H.T.* (25)
- 25—It is reported by Under Secretary of State Welles that the neutrality act will not be invoked in the Soviet-

UNITED STATES

May

- 14—Ambassador Oumansky sees Secretary of State Hull to discuss questions of Soviet-American trade.—*N.Y.H.T.* (15)

- German war and the Pacific will not be made a combat zone.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 25—American Minister to Bulgaria Earle sees Soviet Minister Lavrentev.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 25—Ambassador Leahy in Vichy sees Soviet Ambassador Bogomolov for the second time since the war began.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 26—Soviet-American trade in April is reported as \$5,186,000 in exports and \$2,748,000 in imports.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)
- 27—Ambassador Oumansky receives assurance from Secretary of State Hull that Soviet requests for assistance would be given favorable consideration. He said that no specific request had yet been made.—*N.Y.Sun* (27)
- 28—Following an interview with Lord Halifax, Under Secretary of State Welles says that there are no immediate plans for sending an American mission to the USSR.—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 29—The Ministers of the former Latvian and Lithuanian governments file statements with the State Department asking continued American support for the independence of their countries.—*N.Y.T.* (29)
- 29—The Amtorg Trading Corporation, Soviet commercial agency in the United States, is said to be awaiting word regarding Moscow's requirements before loading the eleven Soviet freighters now in various ports here.—*N.Y.T.* (30)
- 29—The Soviet war is said to spur cotton demand in the New York Cotton Exchange, as many anticipate that the conflict will result in Russian demand for United States cotton and textiles to supply its wartime needs.—*N.Y.T.* (30)
- 29—American Ambassador Steinhardt confers for more than an hour with Foreign Commissar Molotov.—*D.W.* (July 1)
- 29—The United States rushes the construction of new air and submarine bases in Alaska "to meet a potential German threat to the United States from Siberia."—*D.W.* (30)
- 30—Secretary of Navy Knox in an address before the annual Governors' Conference says that while Hitler "is treacherously reducing Russia to a slave state," the United States must "clear the path across the Atlantic." *N.Y.T.* (July 1)

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